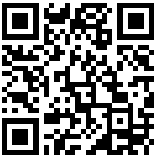
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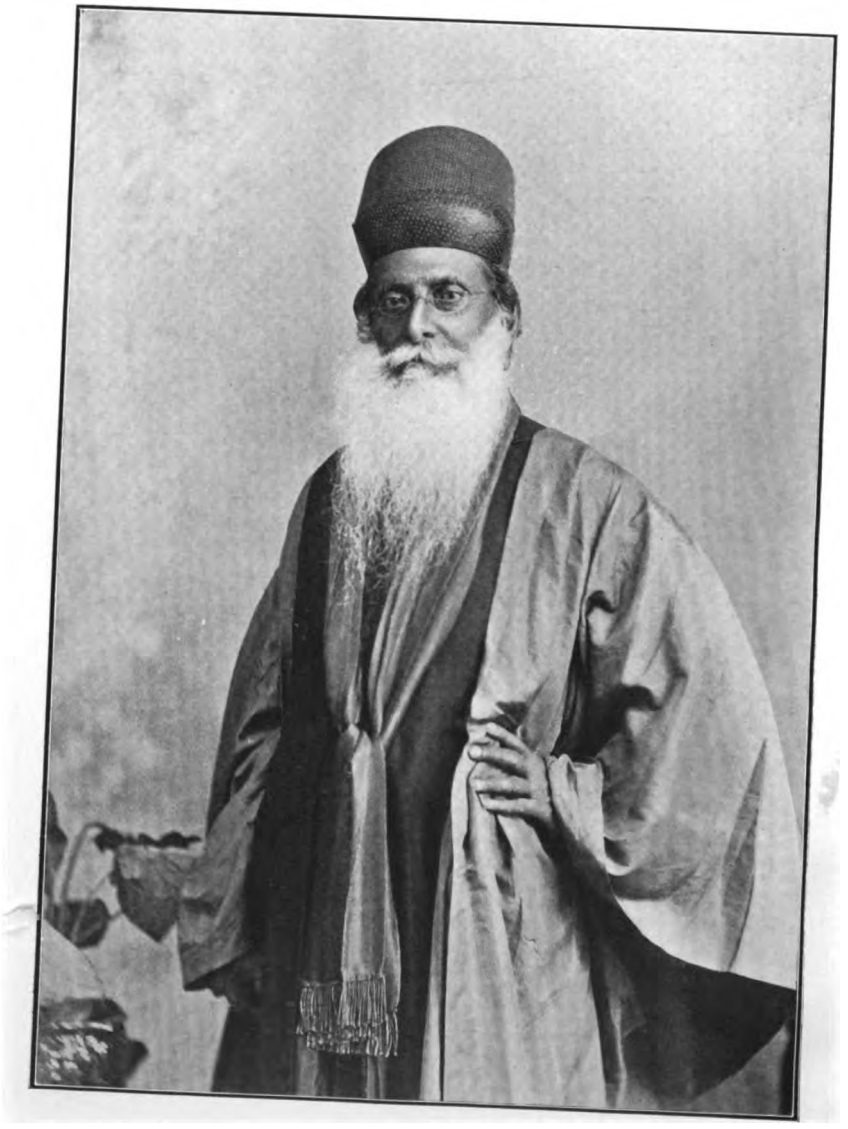


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K. R. CAMA.

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THE

K. R. CAMA MEMORIAL VOLUME

ESSAYS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS

WRITTEN

BY VARIOUS SCHOLARS

IN HONOUR OF

Mr. KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA

On the occasion of his seventieth birth-day

AND EDITED BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B. A.

Bombay

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"No harm comes to the honest and to the diligent, living among the evil-minded".

"No disaster unto him who lives aright, nor unto him who is diligent. He is apart from the evil-minded".

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CONTENTS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE.

K. R. Cama ... ... *Frontispiece.*

K. R. Cama and his first Pupils, to face xliv

Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion, to face lxxvi

Contents ... ... A—D

Preface—*By Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A.* i

A sketch of important events in the life of Mr. Kharshedji Rustamji Cama—*By Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Behramji Patel* xv

A chapter on Mr. K. R. Cama's public services and private character—*By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha*, Fellow of the University of Bombay ... xxviii

Introduction—*By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A.*... ... xlv

PAPERS.

The Date of Zoroaster—*By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha* 1

Pâzend and English versions of a chapter of the Pahlavi Dînkard, relating to the Solar and Luni-Solar years in the Zoroastrian Religion—*By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha* 12

The Ostracism of the Achæmenides from the Pahlavi Works and the Shâh Nâmeh—*By Mr. Palanji Barjorji Desai* 29

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

Contributions to the Critic of the Avesta Text—*By Dr. Eugene Wilhelm*, Professor of Iranian Languages in the University of Jena... 40

The Holy Sraosha—*By Mr. N. D. Khandalavala, B.A., LL.B.* 47

An enquiry into the order of the Parsi months and the basis of their nomenclature—*By Mr. Meherjibhai Nosherwanji Kuka, M.A.* 54

Outre-Tombe: A Zoroastrian Idyll—*By Revd. Dr. L. C. Casartelli*, Bede's College Manchester 74

The Modern Avesta of Milton—*By Ervad Bahmanji Nassarwanji Dhabar, M.A.*, Lecturer in Pahlavi, Mulla Firoze Madresa 79

On the transliteration of Pahlavi—*By Dr. E. W. West.*. 98

The day Khordâd of the month Farvardin commonly called Khordâdsâl : translated from the original Pahlavi Text—*By Dastur Kaikhusru Jâmâspji Jâmâsp Âsânâ* 122

Some Avestan texical and grammatical notes—*By Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson*, Columbia University, New York 130

The existence of the moral idea in the Gâthas : Yasna XXVIII–XXXI, *By Prof. Rev. Dr. Lawrence H. Mills*, Professor of Zend Philology, Oxford University 134

Avesta as—*By Prof. K. Geldner, Ph. D.*, University of Berlin... 139

King Faridûn and a few of his amulets and charms—*By Ervad Kavasji Edalji Kanga*, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Principal Mulla Firoze Madresa 141

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PAGE.

The Parsi and the French Revolutionary Calendars : A study in the history of chronology—*By Mr. R. P. Karkaria, B.A.* 146

A few statements of the Avesta as understood by the writers of the Revâyet—*By Ervad Edalji Keresaspji Antia*, Lecturer in Zend, Sir Jamsetjee Madresa 154

A brief outline of some controversial questions that led to the advancement of the study of religious literature among the Parsis—*By Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Behramji Patel* 170

The Criminal Law of Ancient Iran—*By Mr. Pestanji Kuvarji Motiwala M.A., LL.B.*, Vakil, High Court, Bombay 183

Frashokard and Re-birth—*By Khan Bahadur Nowrojee Dorabjee Khandalawala, B.A., LL.B.* 200

Asterisms in Iranian literature—*By Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria M.A.*, Lecturer in Pahlavi, Sir Jamsetjee Madresa 216

A new medal of king Behrâm Gour—*By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi., B.A.*, Fellow of the University of Bombay 225

Translation of a passage in the Jâmâspi or Jâmâspnâmeh relating to plague and famine—*By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.* 231

Two Persian passages about the Kabiseh (Intercalation)—*By Ervad Manekji Rustamji Unwala* 235

Âdar and Âtash in the Pâzand writings—*By Ervad Kharshedji Minocherji Kateli*, Professor of Persian, Wilson College 239

The Persian Year—*By Ervad Naushirwan Barjoji Desai* 241

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

The Zoroastrian months and years with their divisions in the Avestaic age—*By Ervad Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadershah, L.C.E.* 244

On the derivation of "Avesta"—*By Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Nosherwan*, Deputy High Priest of the Deccan 274

The virtues of a Zoroastrian household—The Avesta interpretation of Sraosha, Asraosha and Asrushti, Yasna, LX, 5,—*By Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana B.A.*, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Principal Sir Jamsetjee Madresa... ... 280

The years of the reigns of the later Irânian kings according to Jâmâspi—*By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.* 284

Difficulties of deciphering Pahlavi—*By Ervad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria*... 287

Errata 323

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PREFACE.

In February 1899, I addressed the following letter to well-known Pârsî students of Irânian literature in India :

તમો જાણોછો કે આપણા મીત્ર શેઠ ખરશેદજી રૂસ્તમજી કામાએ આપણા તોલાની કેલવણીમાં ઘણોક ભાગ લીધો છે. ખાસ કરી આપણી ધર્મસંબંધી ભાષાઓના અભ્યાસના ફેલાવા માટેની એવણ સાહેબની સેવાઓ વધુ જાણીતી છેજી. એ સઘલી સેવાઓથી જેટલો હું વાકેફ છું તેટલા આપ પણ છો, અને મારી માફક એવણ સાહેબના એક વખાણનારા છેઓ. એવણ તરફની આપણી માનની લાગણી જાહેર કરવા માટે મેં એવો વીચાર કર્યો છે કે આપણે એવણની યાદગારી માટે એક દફતર (a memorial volume) બાહેર પાડવું, કે જેવાં દફતરો યુરોપમાં કોઈ વીદ્વાનની યાદમાં તેના મીત્રો બાહેર પાડે છે. એ દફતર માટે એવણને ચાહનારા અને વખાણનારા મીત્રોએ પોતે પોતાને મનપસંદ બાબદ ઉપર એક લખાણ કરવું જે જ્યારે છપાય ત્યારે બે ત્રણ પાનાનું કે વધુ પાનાનું હોય. એ લખાણ એક યા એકથી વધુ બાબદો ઉપર હોય. તે આપણી ઈરાનની ભાષા, તવારીખ, ધર્મ, સંસાર, સાહીત્ય વીગેરેની કોઈપણ બાબદ ઉપર અસલ (original) લખાણ હોવું જોઈએ. નહીં તરજુમો થયલાં કોઈ પુસ્તક યા પુસ્તકના ભાગનો તરજુમો હશે તો તે પણ ચાલશે. લખાણની બાબદ ધર્મસંબંધી વાદવિવાદની યા મતફેર વધારનારી યા ઉશકેરનારી નહીં હોવી જોઇએજી. માટે આ લખવાથી અરજ કરૂંછું કે એ કામમાં મેહેરબાની કરી તમારી સામેલગીરી આપશોજી અને કોઈ લખાણ આજથી ત્રણ માસની મુદતમાં મને પોહોંચતું કરશોજી. એ લખાણો એક પુસ્તકનાં રૂપમાં છપાવી, આપણે એવણ સાહેબની આવતી સાલગરેહ, જે નવેંબર માસમાં પડે છે, તેના શુભ અવસરે એવણની યાદગારીનાં પુસ્તક તરીકે બાહેર પાડી એવણને ભેટ આપીશું જી.

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I obtained favourable and sympathetic replies from most of them. Several excused themselves from contributing, not for any want of sympathy towards the movement, but for want of time.

In April 1899, I addressed a similar letter to some of the savants of Europe, who were working in the field of Irânian literature. They responded very kindly to my request. I note with regret the death of two of them, who had kindly promised but died before they could send in their contributions, *viz.*, the late lamented Prof. C. de Harlez, and M. J. Menant, member of the Institute of France.

I beg to offer my heartfelt thanks to all the contributors, for so kindly complying with my request.

The above circular letter speaks for itself. It expresses the purpose which prompted me to undertake the work of this Memorial Volume.

I do not propose giving a complete biography of Mr. Cama in this volume. I leave it to be done by a better hand more versed in the art of writing biographies, and I am sure that a Pârsî Smiles will find in Mr. Cama a few traits of an excellent character worthy to be held as an example before the rising and the coming generations of the Pârsîs. However, I give an outline of the principal events of Mr. Cama's life, for which I am indebted to my friend Khân Bahâdur Bahmanjî Behrâmjî Patel, the well-known author of the "Pârsî Prakâsh."

Of the different services rendered by Mr. Cama to the Bombay community in general and to the Pârsî

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community in particular, those in the direction of education deserve to be recounted. He is one of those, who firmly believe in the magic influence of education, who have in "education," as it were, a watch-word for the general advancement of the country; and who see in education the salvation of India. Among all the branches of education with which Mr. Cama's name is connected, the one in which he has taken, and does still take, a great interest, is religious education among the Pârsîs. The first step necessary to ensure the spread of that education was to introduce a scientific system of studying the Irânian languages in which the ancient Pârsî scriptures were written, translated and commented upon. As the circular letter above quoted shows, it is the services of Mr. Cama in this direction that are specially intended to be memorialized, in this volume. So I think a separate chapter on Mr. Cama's services in this direction will find a fitting place in this volume. I am indebted to my learned and esteemed friend Mr. Sheriârjî Dâdâbhai Bharuchâ for kindly contributing that chapter to this volume. Mr. Sheriârjî, a born student, who is an exemplary and unassuming pupil of Mr. Cama, speaks with authority on the subject of his memoir, because, as he says, he was not only one of the first, but *the* first of Mr. Cama's pupils. He is one of those students in whom Mr. Cama has infused his zeal and love of study, and of whom he is deservedly proud.

My acquaintance with Mr. Cama has been much later. I well remember that afternoon in February

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1881, when I was taken to Mr. Cama by my friend Prof. Kâvasjî Dâdâbhai Nâigaumvâlâ, the then Secretary of the Dnyân Prasârak Society of which Mr. Cama is the President, and introduced as one of the lecturers before the society for the lecture season of that year. Upto this day I remember the bit of advice that Mr. Cama then gave me, as to how I should be thoroughly well prepared, not only with the subject matter of my lecture, but even with the mode of delivering and illustrating it. The first impression that I then carried with me about Mr. Cama was that he liked thoroughness. Since that formal introduction I have been enjoying his friendship with great advantage to myself. My acquaintance and friendship, though later, have been sufficiently long, to enable me to put down here a few personal reminiscences which illustrate, in a marked degree, a few traits of his character.

Most of the Pârsî contributors to this volume are either Mr. Cama's own pupils or his pupils' pupils. They all generally look to him as their guide, philosopher and friend. When there is any question concerning the study of an Irânian subject, they all look to him for friendly advice and guidance. In many a subject of religious importance, his advice and opinion are sought for, not by the laymen alone, but by the clergy also. He was very aptly called "the lay Dastûr"[1] by the late lamented Prof. Darmesteter. The priests as a body, and more especially "la nouvelle génération" of priests, referred

1 "Le Dastûr laique." Le Zend Avesta, Vol. I p. VII.

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to by Darmesteter,[1] would not find a better friend of their order than Mr. Cama, who is always ready to promote and encourage higher education among them, and to raise their condition, dignity and status in the community. As a recent instance of the fact, that Mr. Cama's advice and opinion in matters affecting religious customs, are sought for, not only by the new generation of priests, but by the older orthodox generation as well, I may mention the question lately discussed: whether priests can be inoculated with Prof. W. M. Haffkine's plague serum without infringing any religious rule or regulation. The question was whether the serum was *naçush* (destructive or decomposing matter) from the stand-point of the Vendidâd, which prohibited people from coming into contact with noxious decomposing matter that would endanger life. Mr. Cama, in his usual manner of doing a thing thoroughly and perfectly, handled the subject from all stand-points when his opinion was asked for by some priests. He had an interview with Dr. Bannermann in charge of Prof. Haffkine's laboratory, and inquired into all the processes of the manufacture of the serum. Thus fortified with the information so acquired, and with his excellent knowledge of the Vendidâd, he treated the subject in a lucid way in a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Trustees of the Pârsî Panchâyet, on 29th October 1899, at Dâdî Sett's Fire-temple in Fort. He repeated the lecture in January 1900 at Naosari, the head-quarters of the Pârsî priesthood.

1 Journal des Debats, 8 Fevrier 1892.

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My esteem and regard for Mr. Cama and, I think, those of many of his admirers are based, not only upon his services to the cause of Avestic studies and to education, but upon his personal characteristics, his benevolent inclinations. I will repeat here what I wrote in 1898, in my dedication to him of my જ્ઞાન પ્રસારક વિષયો (Essays for the diffusion of knowledge) : " Your life as a citizen and as a Zoroastrian has taught me a good deal. In it I have seen a good deal worth imitating." Some members of the orthodox section of the community differ from Mr. Cama in some of his views and opinions, but all admire him for his straightforwardness, and moral rectitude. His is an examplary life, full of hard work, great energy and extraordinary perseverance, which aim at public welfare. He is one of the few leaders of thought in the community. In many a question affecting the good of the community, people like to know the views of Mr. Cama, to guide and help them. What the late Benjamin Jowett said of great men, is true of him that " it does us good only to look at them." His cheering presence and sound advice have helped many institutions.

Mr. Cama is a reformer. He advocates reform in all directions, social, religious and educational. We know that, at times, a mere *change* passes under the name of *reform*. In some men, there is a longing for a change, a mere change in the old existing forms, whether it be for the better or for the worse ; and the accomplishment of that hankering after change passes under the name of *reform*. Such changes are destructive. But Mr. Cama's

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advocacy is not for such kind of reforms. He is a reformer of the constructive type. In the strictest sense of the word he tries to *re*-form what he finds to have been *de*-formed. He is one of those reformers, who think that in a true reform one must aim not at the complete destruction of the institutions or customs sought to be reformed, but at correcting the deformities.

Take for instance the question of the "Bâj-rozgâr" ceremonies that agitated the mind of the Pârsî Community in 1897. Mr. Cama has spoken a number of times over the subject of the ceremonies as they are now performed. He has deprecated the current notions which the orthodox have entertained about these ceremonies in honour of the dead. In season and out of season, he has advocated the reform in the matter of the expenses of these ceremonies and discountenanced the notion, that the *performance* of these ceremonies elevated the position of the dead in the next world. But in spite of all these views he saw that the institution in its original conception was a good one. The ceremonies were "meant to preserve a pious remembrance of the dead, to give an expression to the love, affection and gratitude of the living towards the dead" and to teach lessons of morality to the living. Now in the year 1897, there arose the question, that as the Trusts for the performance of the Bâj-rozgâr ceremonies were not upheld by the High Courts—because they aimed at perpetuity, and such perpetual Trusts were not valid in the eye of law,—the Pârsî community should memorialise to the Government for

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giving relief by special legislation on the subject. At the public meeting of the community, held in Bombay, on 4th July 1897, Mr. Cama boldly rose up to move the very first resolution asking the Government to give the asked-for relief. He personally was not confident of the success of the movement. He had not strong hopes that the Government would give any relief, but he still stood up for the principle. He thought that if the old Avestic injunction, without its modern excrescences, could, by some efforts, by some *modus vivendi* suggested by the Government itself, be upheld or supported, it was welcome. Well, by the position he took up in the matter, he, at that time, surprised a good many of his friends, who, carried away by the idea,—which was common to him and to them—,that the ceremonies as practised in these days were associated with some unnecessary expenses, and wrong notions, thought that they need not be upheld at all by the legislature. But Mr. Cama stood up for the custom, as it originally existed, without its harmful excrescences. Like many, he took in this matter the view that "By all means, let the false excrescences be removed but do not try to destroy the original good custom. If a bar of iron has got rusty, remove the rust, but do not entirely throw away the rod because it is rusty."

In the matter of the reforms advocated by Mr. Cama, what one admires the most is his forbearing patience and his generous spirit of toleration. He never gets excited at those from whom he differs in opinion, and never loses his temper against them, even

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when some of the fanatical portion of the opposite camp try to annoy, harass and insult him. He would always like to reason with them, argue with them and endeavour to persuade them. What Zarathushtra, the greatest of reformers, said to his hearers, when preaching before them his new religion, is as it were, the maxim of Mr. Cama, his reforming disciple of the 19th century. He tells them, as it were, in the words of the Gâthâs:[1] "Hear with your own ears the best of words that I tell you. Think over the matter for yourselves with an open mind and make your choice." As an illustration of his forbearing patience in such matters I may mention one fact. Of late some misguided school-boys, and even some elderly persons, have taken it into their heads, to put down those,—and among them Mr. Cama also—who hold views opposed to their orthodox ideals, by annoying and insulting them at public gatherings. It is a matter of regret that a part of the rising generation should thus show a lack of that spirit of toleration, of which their ancient prophet had set such a noble example. It was the absence of such spirit in the conquerors of Irân that forced their forefathers to leave their fatherland, an event which has attracted the sympathy of writers like Thomas Moore, the singer of the Lala Rookh. When it was proposed at a meeting of the Committee of the Dnyân Prasârak Mandlî,—at whose public gatherings some of this rowdism is seen,—that in order to remedy this nuisance the lecture meetings of that society should be closed against

1 Y. xxx.

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school-boys under a certain age, Mr. Cama, who is the President of the society, with that forbearing and forgiving spirit, which has been one of his best characteristics, opposed that motion. He took the view that "these societies are intended for imparting knowledge to our growing up boys and young men. Never mind if they become a little unmannerly, and annoy and insult us. Let us not deprive them of the education intended for them and of the advantage of being associated with us and learning good manners and habits of forbearance and forgiveness from us." Not only in the case of a large number of people like those referred to in the above instance, but in the case of individuals who differ from him in public matters, Mr. Cama is known to be very tolerant, and forbearing and forgiving. He is known to go, with a truth-seeking mind, to the houses of his opponents and discuss with them matters of differences in a quiet and dispassionate way.

I know an instance in which Mr. Cama offered, of his own accord, to stand on the platform of a society, where his views had often been opposed. Many of his friends did not like the idea, saying that it was not proper and dignified to stand on a platform where his views were at times misrepresented and criticized in an unbecoming way. Mr. Cama said that it did not matter, that their views were opposed to his in most matters, but as far as those points were concerned in which he and the society agreed and looked for the common good of the people, there was no reason why he should not stand

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on their platform and extend the benefit of his work within their circle, in spite of some individual members of the society misrepresenting his views. The subject on which he wished to lecture before the society treated of "The rules of cleanliness advocated by the Avesta, which enable men to stand against plague." It was a subject on which Mr. Cama had, at a great sacrifice of time, delivered a number of lectures in Bombay in the different health-camps erected by the Trustees of the Pârsî Panchâyet during the plague epidemic of 1897-98. Mr. Cama had repeated the same lecture in several Mofussil towns.

Mr. Cama is well-known for his readiness to encourage the spread of knowledge. There is hardly a public lecture, or a lecture delivered or paper read before a religious or literary society where Mr. Cama is not to be seen. His is a familiar face to be seen at almost all the meetings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bombay Anthropological Society, the Dnyân Prasârak, and such other literary Societies. The Anjuman-i Elmîye-i Fârsî, a society for the encouragement of the study of Persian language, has started conversational classes, where young students meet to practice conversation in Persian. Mr. Cama does not think it *infra dig* to attend these classes and mix with young students. All his evenings are generally occupied in either the general or committee meetings of educational institutions, or in meetings convened for some public benevolent purpose, for the good of his community or city. At times one has to wait for days together to convene a meeting,

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if he specially wants Mr. Cama's presence at that meeting for some public purpose.

Of those, who can safely take for their motto the saying that *Laborare est orare*, Mr. Cama is most assuredly the foremost. I know few Pârsîs who work so steadily, energetically and cheerfully, from morning to evening, and from one end of the year to the other. Of late years, Mr. Cama rarely goes out of Bombay and when he does, it is not for a change of air or for rest and repose, but for some purpose of public utility. He is very fond of attending social gatherings, not only with the object of renewing old friendships or forming new ones, but also with the object that he may there have an opportunity to talk over with friends on some pet schemes or ideas of his for the good of an institution or a society. While there you find him planning some new movement, or developing one already started for the public good.

Zoroastrianism teaches men to take an optimistic view of life. Mr. Cama is one upon whom that spirit of his religion has made a very marked influence. He always takes a very cheerful view of life. He is always cheerful, and never depressed in his work, and he makes others also cheerful. No difficulty deters him, and if some circumstance does deter him from a certain line of action, it never depresses him. If you meet with some difficulty in any of your works and feel a little depressed, and if by some chance you happen to meet Mr. Cama he will be a god-send to you. He will cheer you up

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with words of encouragement. "You will survive all that" are the familiar words with which he cheers up many a young man, when he speaks to him or consults him about any particular disappointment in his walk of life.

He has such a high ideal of duty that he would not allow a certain disappointment or even an affliction to mar the ideal. I well remember the occasion of his sad domestic affliction caused by the death of his cultured wife Âîmâê. Hardly ten days had expired since the sad event and Mr. Kharshedji Cama was seen moving about and taking an active part in works of public utility, drowning his personal sorrows in the midst of public duty. It was on an evening of the eighth or ninth day after the sad event, that I saw him attending a semi-public gathering at the Petit Hall of Sir Dinshaw Mâneckjî Petit Bart., convened to present an address of welcome to the new Persian Consul General who had arrived in Bombay a short time before. According to the usual Pârsî notions one similarly afflicted would take that event as an occasion to excuse himself from attending, but Kharshedjî Cama, with his high ideal of duty, generally rises above such notions. He was and is still a member of the Committee of the Society for the amelioration of the condition of our Zoroastrian coreligionists in Persia, and as such, he thought it his duty to attend the gathering called by his Committee for presenting an address of welcome to the Consul General, an address meant not only to welcome him but also meant to express a debt of gratitude to the Sovereign Power

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which protected the Zoroastrian Persians in their ancient fatherland. His silent presence there, weighted as he was with the burden of the grief of the sad event which had happened only a few days ago, reminded me of what Plutarch said of Demosthenes on a similar occasion:—"He rather deserved a panegyric upon this occasion when he rejected his sorrow and preferred the love of his country to the tenderness and compassion he ought to have for his relations." I well remember that evening when I returned home from the meeting well-impressed with the high ideal of duty suggested by Mr. Cama.

The above are a few of my personal reminiscences. As the late Prof. Jowett said, "there are sermons in the lives of men" and Mr. Kharshedjî Rustamjî Cama, the person sought to be honoured by this Memorial Volume is such a man. Even at his present advanced age Mr. Cama often produces fresh thought himself. Not only that but he is one "who can," in the words of Rev. Kinsley, "yet welcome smilingly and joyfully the fresh thoughts of others; who keeps unwearied his faith in God's government of the universe, in God's continued education of the human race; who draws around him the young and the sanguine, not merely to check their rashness by his wise cautions, but to inspirit their sloth by the memories of his own past victories, who hands over without envy or repining, the lamp of truth to younger runners than himself, and sits contented by, bidding the new generation God-speed along the paths untrodden by him but seen afar off by faith."

Colaba 26th August 1900.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

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A SKETCH OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF MR. KHARSHEDJI RUSTAMJI CAMA.

By Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Behramji Patel.

1831. Born, 11th November. (Rôz Khûrshêd Mâh Khôrdâd, 1201 A.Y., Kadîmî.)

1839. Married in his father's life-time to Bai Âvânbai, a daughter of his uncle Mr. Dosabhai Hormusji Cama.

„ His father, Mr. Rustamji Hormusji Cama, Merchant, died at the age of 29 years.

1849. Finished his education in the College department of the Elphinstone Institution, having enjoyed for 2 years the "West Scholarship."

„ Left by sea for Calcutta to join as an apprentice in the firm of his relative Mr. Dadabhai Hormusji Cama. The ship he was sailing in was disabled being caught in a hurricane and dismasted nearing the Bay of Bengal, and the passengers and crew were rescued by a passing vessel just in time to be saved.

1850. Reached Calcutta.

„ Went to China, and on attaining his majority was made a partner in his uncles' Canton firm of Messrs. Ratanji Hormusji Camaji & Co., and in the Bombay one of Messrs. Hormusji Mancherji Camaji's sons.

1852. From China he offered under a *nom-de-plume* an honorarium of Rs. 150, to the "Board of Education," Bombay, through the late Mr. Sohrabji Shapurji Bengali, for the best essay on "The Advantages of Railways," and published 500 copies of the essay at his own expense. The prize was won by Mr. Kaikhusru Hormusji Alpaiwala, late Judge of the Small Causes Court Surat.

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1853. Offered another prize of Rs. 250 to the "Board of Education," for an essay on "The Education of the Natives in the Bombay Presidency—its present and future results." In this connection, the "Board of Education" in their Report for 1853-54 remarked: "We are not acquainted even with the name of the gentleman who has thus a second time come forward to incite his countrymen to useful mental exercise." The offer of these prizes shows the donor's bent of mind to help education from his very early age.

1854. Returned from Canton to Bombay.

„ Appointed a member of the managing committee of the Mullân Firoze Madresa, started during the year. Elected its President since 1879.

„ Joined the Freemason's Lodge "Rising Star." He is now the oldest native member of the Masonic Brotherhood and has obtained the highest honours within the reach of native gentlemen. He was the first native Grand Master Depute of the Scottish Grand Lodge in India. During a few months' absence of the Grand Master he had full charge of the Grand Lodge of India. He has the unusual honour of being the first native Grand Superintendent of Scotch Royal Arch Masonry in India.

1855. The Student's Literary and Scientific Society welcomed and thanked him, at their meeting held on 10th March 1855, for the great interest he had shown in the cause of female education by his generous contributions from China.

„ Appointed Honorary Secretary to the Fort Gratuitous Dispensary, started with the help principally of the Cama family. Elected its President since 1885.

„ Left for England on June 26th in company with the late Mr. Mancherji Hormusji Cama and Professor Dadabhoy Naoroji to start the first Indian firm in London and Liverpool under the name of Messrs. Cama & Co.

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1858. Became joint proprietor of the "Rast Goftar", continuing so till 1869.

1859. Travelled to the principal cities of Great Britain, France, Switzerland and Germany, studied French, German, Avesta, and other cognate languages at Paris and at Erlängen, under Professors Mohl, Oppert and Spiegel.

„ Attended Prof. Charle's course of lectures at Paris on the Religion of Zoroaster.

„ Visited the Roman Catholic Monastery at Chartreuse with a view to learn the working of institutions of that nature.

„ Returned to Bombay from Europe.

1860. Appointed a member of the managing committee and Hon. Superintendent of the Esplanade Gymnasium, now the Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit Gymnastic Institution ; appointed its President in 1885.

„ Appointed a member of the managing committee of the Zoroastrian Girls School Association. Appointed one of its Trustees in 1885, and its President in 1895.

„ Elected Hon. Treasurer of the Memorial Fund raised to perpetuate the memory of Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, the founder of education among the natives of the Bombay Presidency, whom he had visited and whose guest he was when in England.

1861. Opened a private class at his residence in the Fort to teach the Avesta and Pahlavi languages on the system of comparative philology to a small group of ardent Avesta students of the priestly class.

„ Elected Honorary Secretary to the Mullân Firoze Library. Elected its President in 1895.

„ Joined the first Parsi Volunteer Corps formed by the late Mr. Jehangir Burjorji Wâchâ's efforts.

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1861. Held a reception in honour of Professor Dr. Martin Haug, the then Professor of Oriental languages at the Deccan College, Poona. At the reception the late Dastûr Erachji Sohrâbji Mehrjirânâ rehearsed the preparatory ceremony of the "Yazishn" for the edification of the learned Doctor.

1862. Elected member of the B.B.R.A. Society, a member of its Managing Committee in 1878, and one of its Vice-presidents in 1896.

1863. Death of his wife Bai Âvânbai, who died leaving behind her two sons, 1) Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B., who is a successful solicitor, Fellow of the University of Bombay, and member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, and 2) Mr. Jehangir K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law.

„ Elected Hony. Treasurer of the Fund raised for presenting a purse of Rs. 12,000, to the retiring first Principal of the Elphinstone College, Dr. John Harkness.

„ Went on a tour through India with the late Messrs. Kharshedji Nasserwanji Cama, Ardesir Framji Moos, Dr. Bhow Daji and Mr. E. Rehatsek.

„ Elected a member of the managing committee of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madresa at Nowsari. Elected its President in 1885.

„ Elected a member of the managing committee of the Alexandra Native Girls English Institution, to whose funds he gave a donation of Rs. 1,000.

„ Elected a member of the Bench of the Justices of the Peace, Bombay.

1864. Thanked by the Government of Bombay, by a Government Resolution, for the valuable services rendered to the census authorities by way of explaining the aims

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and objects of the census operations to the people at large and for otherwise helping the Census Commissioner Mr. Forjett.

1864. Elected Hon. Secretary of the Fund for the purpose of giving a monthly stipend to the Dastûr of the Kadîmî Parsis. Elected its President since 1895.

„ Founded on March 30th the "Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion[1]". He has evinced the deepest interest in its work ever since and brought before it several subjects for discussion during the 36 years of its existence.

„ Had a lecture on the Parsi religion and the Gâthas, delivered by Dr. Haug, with an admission fee of Rs. 5. The proceeds, Rs. 1,100, instead of being accepted by Dr. Haug were given away for prize essays. A prize of Rs. 200 awarded for the best translation of Âdarbâd Mârespand's "Pand-Nâmeh" was won by Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, Mr. Cama's first pupil. Another prize of Rs. 900 for the text and translation of the "Dâdistân-i Dînîk", was won jointly by Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha and Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria, another pupil of Mr. Cama. Both these prizes were offered through the Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion.

1865. Married for the second time to Bai Âimâe, daughter of the late Mr. Manekji Kharshedji, Judge of the Small Causes Court of Bombay.

„ Appointed a Trustee of the Sett Nasserwanji Mancherji Cama Charity Fund, of which he is chairman since 1885.

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[1] For a photo of the present members of this society see plate C.

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1866. Offered a prize of Rs. 800, through the Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion, for a translation of the Vendidad, with notes and commentary and a dictionary of all the important words occurring in it. The prize was awarded in 1869 to Mr. Kâvasji Edalji Kanga, another of the first pupils of Mr. Cama, and the present Principal of the Mûllân Firoze Madresa. The translation was published in 1874.

„ Started from February, a series of pamphlets named "Zarthoshti Abhyâs": Zoroastrian Studies, which treated of questions pertaining to Zoroastrian religion, history, literature, &c. Eleven numbers of it were published till March 1869, when it ceased to exist. The printed numbers contain valuable contributions to Zoroastrian literature.

„ Took a lead in raising a subscription for presenting a purse to Dr. Haug, retiring on pension to his country, in recognition of his distinguished services to the cause of Zoroastrian religious literature. The purse (Rs. 5,000) was presented at the hands of Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai, 2nd Baronet, accompanied by an address from the Parsi Community at a public meeting held on February 24th.

„ Gave a farewell evening party in honour of the learned Doctor on the following day.

„ Raised a subscription in Bombay in aid of a Memorial Fund set on foot in Europe to present a testimonial to the renowned Oriental scholar Professor F. Bopp in recognition of his original researches into Oriental subjects.

„ Elected a Fellow of the University of Bombay.

1867. Elected a Delegate of the Parsi Chief Matrimonial Court of Bombay.

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1868. Delivered in Bombay and Poona a series of lectures during the Muktâd holidays, on the life and teachings of Zoroaster, and on the Zoroastrian age. The lectures on Zoroaster were afterwards published in a book form, entitled " Zarthosht Nâmeh ".

„ Went on a tour to Gujerat, delivering lectures at Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat and Nowsari on various subjects connected with the religion, philosophy, and ritual of the Zoroastrian religion.

1869. Delivered a series of five lectures before an assembly of Parsi ladies at the Framji Cowasji Institute on the religious philosophy of Zoroastrianism.

„ Delivered lectures on the Jamshedi Naoroz at Fort, Dhobi-talao, Khetwady, Baharkote, and Mazagaon.

„ Held five controversy meetings open to the public at the F. C. Institute to discuss the subject of the mode of calculating the Zoroastrian year. The late Mr. Shapurji Hoshangji D[illegible] was the chief controversialist. Mr. Cama, with the commendable object of encouraging fair discussion on such religious subjects, himself paid all the expenses of the lectures, delivered by his opponent.

„ Published a collection of 27 lectures on the subject of the Zoroastrian era.

„ Delivered lectures under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Researches into Zoroastrian Religion and the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ on the importance of a study of the Zoroastrian Religion, and on 'Âvân-Ardvisur' and 'Frohars'.

1870. Took a lead in reviving the " Gujarati Dnyân Prasârak Mandli" (Society for the diffusion of knowledge). Elected its President since the year 1874.

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1870. Elected ex-officio Vice-President of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society.

„ On the introduction of the Contagious Diseases Act a couple of Parsi women applied for the necessary permit, which created a great sensation among the Parsi community. The Trustees of the Parsi Panchâyet thereupon convened a public meeting to concert measures to remedy the evil. The meeting was presided over by Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai, 2nd Baronet. It was contemplated, by way of punishment, to prohibit the disposal of the bodies of such women and their children into the Towers of Silence. This proposal was strongly opposed by Mr. Cama as stated in his learned memorandum submitted to the meeting, on the ground that such a step would necessitate the burial of the bodies of such persons, which course was prohibited by the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion. The question was later on referred to the Dastûrs, whose decisions were in the same lines as those laid down by Mr. Cama. This was one of the greatest triumphs of Mr. Cama's deep learning in the Zoroastrian lore.

„ Published a treatise on the Zoroastrian era entitled "Yezdejardi Târikh."

1871. Delivered under the auspices of the Dnyân Prasârak Mandli four lectures on "Bûn-i Irân dânesh az zabân shanâsi," *i.e.*, Knowledge about Persia from the standpoint of philology.

„ His uncles while closing the firm of Messrs. Hormusji Mancherji Camaji's sons, set apart between them a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 making up together with his contribution of Rs. 25,000 a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 in Government Promissary Notes and founded "The late Mr. Hormusji Mancherji Cama Charity Fund,"

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the interest whereof goes to help and educate the poor Cama family and other Parsis in various ways. Mr. Cama is a life-Trustee of the fund with power, during his life-time, to spend Rs. 1,000 of the income of his portion of the Fund in any Zoroastrian religious and charitable purpose he deems fit, without rendering account of the same to his co-Trustees.

1871. Delivered lectures on the "Gâthâ Gâhânbâr" at the principal Parsi localities of Bombay, and on "Frohars" and "Âtash" at Poona.

1872. Delivered two lectures under the auspices of the "Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ" on "Jashn-i Âdar."

1873. Appointed a Trustee of the Dadysett's Kadimi Âtash-Behram and of the Kadimi Gâhânbâr Fund of which he is chairman since 1892.

„ Delivered lectures on the Jamshedi Naoroz.

1874. Published a pamphlet on "The New Year's Day of the Ancient Persian Empire," embodying translation from the German of the eminent Numismatist, Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, of Constantinople.

1875. Elected a member of the Municipal Corporation by the rate-payers of Malabar Hill and Girgaum.

1876. Published a pamphlet on "Freemasonry," setting forth the teachings of the institution, for the benefit of nonfreemasons. Published in 16 parts a translation of Dr. Rapp's learned work on "The religion and the customs of the Persians as described by classical authors."

„ Delivered under the auspices of the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ four lectures on "The social and religious condition of the Parsis and the necessity of diffusing a knowledge of their religion among them."

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1877. Published a pamphlet on "Freemasonry among the Natives of Bombay."

1879. Appointed Hon. Superintendent of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zend and Pahlavi Madresa.

„ Published a pamphlet entitled "The Zoroastrian mode of disposing of the dead" from the German of Drs. Spiegel, Duncker, Rapp and Rhode.

1880. Published a translation entitled "The Jewish Angelology and Demonology based upon Parsiism" from the German of Dr. Alexander Kohut.

1881. Delivered under the auspices of the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ four lectures on the subject of "The religious education among the Parsis and the necessity of placing it upon a sound basis". These lectures bestirred the community to a certain extent and resulted in the starting of a fund; whose objects were (1) to have lectures and sermons delivered on the Zoroastrian religion, (2) to have printed a series of seven moral and religious text books and (3) to have religious education imparted to Parsi children attending Zoroastrian schools. Most of the text books have been prepared by Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha.

1882. Delivered under the auspices of the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ a lecture on "Jamshedi Naoroz," after which the Sabhâ adopted a resolution to the effect that the Zoroastrian year commences with the 21st of March.

„ Appointed a member in a Committee deputed to report upon the Anjuman-i Islâm Madresa, a singular honour conferred upon a Parsi by the Mahomedan Community.

1885. Elected an Honorary Secretary to the Fund started to perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. Khur-

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shedji Nosherwanji Cama with the object of helping poor Parsi students in the pursuit of their studies.

1886. Took a prominent part with the late Mr. Tyrrel Lieth in starting the Anthropological Society of Bombay, whose Vice-President he is since 1889.

„ Elected President of the "Bai Nawazbai Girls School", Dadabhoy Cowasji Tata Anglo-Vernacular School and "The Nasserwanji Tata Zend Madresa" all three at Navsari.

1893. Went on an official visit to Chapter "Morland" and delivered two lectures at Sikandrabad and Hydrabad, Deccan, on Zoroastrian religious subjects.

1894. Took a leading part in getting the Avesta languages introduced in the entire curriculum of the Bombay University.

„ Elected examiner in Avesta and Pahlavi languages at the Examination for the degree of M. A. which was held for the first time this year.

1895. Elected Vice-President of the "Naoroz Committee", a committee formed to determine the real commencement of the Parsi year.

„ Delivered a number of public lectures at Bombay in the different Parsi localities and at Surat, Broach and Poona on the subject of the Zoroastrian mode of calculating the year.

„ Lost his wife Bai Âimâe, who died leaving 3 sons and 4 daughters. The sons are all in business carrying the firm of Sarosh K. R. Cama & Co. of Bombay, London and Calcutta. One of the daughters is a L. M. & S. of the Bombay University, L.R.C.P. of Edinburgh and Glasgow and M. D. of Brussels. The three others are matriculated and under-

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graduates, two of whom have studied at the School of Arts, and exhibited paintings in the Art exhibitions of Bombay, Poona, Simla, Madras, &c.

1896. Went to Karanchi on an official visit to Chapter "Faith and Charity". Delivered lectures to the Parsi community.

1898. Elected a member of the Board of the committee of the Sir. J. J. Parsi Benevolent Institution.

1899. Received a certificate of merit from the Government of Bombay for having worked as Plague Volunteer during the plague years in Bombay, from 1897 to 1899.

A LIST OF MR. CAMA'S WORKS.

ENGLISH.

1. Jamshedi Naoroz, the New Year's Day of the Ancient Persian Empire.
2. The Religion and the Customs of the Persians and other Iranians, complete in 16 parts.
3. Zoroastrian mode of disposing of the dead.
4. Zoroastrian Religion as one of the Sources of Modern Philosophy.
5. Avesta and the Genesis.
6. Comparison of the Laws of Ormusd with the Laws of Jehova.
7. The Persian and the Jewish Doctrines.
8. Discourses delivered at the Freemasons' Jamshedi Naoroz Festivals.
9. Jamshedi Naoroz.
10. Mithraic Worship, and the rites and ceremonies connected with it.

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11. Zoroastrians and Freemasonry.
12. Freemasonry among the Natives of India.
13. Jewish Angelology and Demonology.
14. Interval between one Gâhânbâr and another.

GUJARATI.

1. Zarthoshti Abhyas in 11 parts.
2. Zarthosht Nâmeh.
3. Lectures on Zoroastrian Religion.
4. Yezdezardi Târikh.
5. Lectures on Gâthâ Gâhânbâr.
6. Bûn-i Irân Danesh az Zabân Shanâsî.
7. Lectures on Jamshedi Naoroz, Zarthosht-nô Dîsô, Mûktâd, Khordâdsâl, Plague, &c., &c.

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A CHAPTER ON MR. K. R. CAMA'S PUBLIC SERVICES AND PRIVATE CHARACTER.

(By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha.)

His Services in connection with the revival of Zoroastrian studies among the Pârsîs.

The study of the time-hallowed religion of Zoroaster, of the customs, traditions, and history of the Pârsî community, and of the languages in which they are written, was formerly confined, according to ancient usage, to the Magi or the Pârsî priests only. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the famous French *savant*, M. Anquetil du Perron, brought Zoroastrian literature to the knowledge of Western scholars. Since then the science of comparative philology has continued to throw considerable light upon the literary materials carried by Anquetil and others to Europe. But among the Pârsîs themselves, the study of their scriptures was very imperfect. During the "Kabîsa" (intercalation) controversy in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, as in the religious controversies carried on for some time with the late Dr. Wilson and other Christian missionaries, and during the controversies between the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ and its opponents—the Reformers and the Orthodox Zoroastrians—, references were often made to the Avesta, Pahlavi, Pâzend and

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Persian Revâyet literature. But we find therefrom that a critical study of these ancient Zoroastrian writings, as regards grammar, etymology and comparative philology, was greatly wanting. It seems to have been reserved by Providence for Mr. Cama to bring back from Europe the light of the new method brought into use in connection with the study of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages and of the Zoroastrian religion in general, by celebrated *savants* like Burnouf, Bopp, Spiegel, Haug, and others, and to offer an opportunity to his coreligionists by introducing among them a critical study of their sacred writings and of the religion, cherished by them dearer than life. From the early sixties of the current century up to the present day, his ardent desire has never abated in furthering this cherished object of his life, nay, it seems to stimulate fresh activity in him every day, even at such an advanced age, to labour in this interesting field.

The writer of these lines has a vivid recollection of a day in the April of 1861, when in the prime of his youth, he was first introduced at Bombay through a note by the late Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, C.I.E., to this exemplary gentleman in a house in Rampart Row where he then resided. He at once commenced to give him lessons in Avesta Grammar twice a week. Three months later, three other young men of the sacerdotal class, (one of whom was the writer's esteemed friend, Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga, the present learned principal of the Mullâ

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Firuz Madresa of Bombay), joined him in these studies. At the end of a year the class numbered more than a dozen young Pârsî priests. Such was the magic influence of the Avesta Grammar that the young priests felt as if the scales of ignorance were every day falling away from their mental eyes. Next year a study of Pahlavi Grammar was also made a part of the course, and in this department, too, the brilliant achievements of European *savants* in deciphering non-Iranian elements of that language made a wonderful effect upon the minds of the students. Not content with teaching Avesta and Pahlavi books only, Mr. Cama also introduced the study of comparative grammar and of other collateral subjects from the works of Schleicher, Pictet, Spiegel, Justi, and many others. It was in fact a bi-weekly treat to the students to hear and learn something new. Of course it was not an easy task both for the master and disciples to examine, with a view to get nearer the truth, into the old Pârsî notions, opinions, doctrines, and views of history, and into their own early impressions regarding them, in the light shed by this new method of study; for they had often to change, dismiss or improve upon many of them. But Mr. Cama and his pupils were neither sectarian nor dogmatic in their views. They were open to conviction just as they are so even at the present day. This right procedure of study helped them to make considerable progress in their work. For a long time both the teacher and the pupils had to unlearn every day many things previously learnt. No doubt the studies

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themselves were trying and required patience, as they were not calculated to ensure good prospects in life. Yet Mr. Cama made them so very interesting that every student who once entered his class could not but attend regularly, whatever unfavourable circumstances in life he had to contend with. Mr. Cama was so kind and considerate that he treated the students as friends and brethren and even helped the deserving ones with books, money and in other respects. He never missed an opportunity to use all his influence to bring them to the notice of the Pârsî community and to further their interests. The early activity of the class was not allowed to slacken or to cease. So much was he careful about it that he even used to come down from Matheran, Mahableshwar, or Poona, where he might have gone for a change, simply to be punctually present at the class. When he removed from Rampart Row, at first to Byculla and then to Walkeshwar, he defrayed the expenses of carriage to convey his pupils to his place—an expense which amounted in the aggregate to a considerable sum. This useful class continued for about twelve years. Almost all his students also joined the two local Madresas, the Mullâ Firuz and the Sir Jamshedji, where they obtained liberal scholarships, which enabled them to continue their studies, as most of them were sons of poor priests.

Another important work of Mr. Cama was the founding of the *Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnâri Mandli* (*i. e.*, the Society for the promotion of researches into Zoroastrian religion) on the 31st March 1864. This Society

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still exists and has proved a great help to the Bombay students of the Avesta, Pahlavi, and Zoroastrian religion in general, by enabling them to exchange their views on subjects relating to these studies. The subjects discussed by Mr. Cama in its meetings amount to a large number, and even now he is the moving spirit of this society. Not only have Zoroastrian youths, who have studied Avesta and Pahlavi, joined this Society, but also older Dastûrs and scholars, Pârsî and European, have joined it as local or foreign members. Such is his assiduous perseverance, as is his wont in connection with all societies and public affairs with which he is associated, that he is almost always present at all its meetings.

Before Mr. Cama started his private class, Avesta, Pahlavi, and Persian were taught in the local Mullâ Firuz Madresa. Although the study of Persian was prosecuted there by many Pârsî youths, Avesta and Pahlavi were taught only to about half a dozen pupils by Dastûrs of the old school in their vague, old-fashioned way, without any grammar and in an uncritical manner. Comparative philology was totally unnoticed. The Sir Jamshedji Madresa was then not in existence. In the Sir Câvasji Madresa at Navsari, where most of the Pârsî priests resided, the study of the Iranian languages, history, and literature and of the Zoroastrian religion was conducted in the same inadequate, old-fashioned style. It was the successful result of Mr. Cama's class, coupled with the advent of the late Dr. Haug in this country, that led the wise

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leaders of the Pârsî Community to perceive the feasibility of introducing a correct study of their old sacred languages. Thus came into existence the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zarthoshti Madresa which was founded on a somewhat liberal scale of expenditure. Mr. Cama interests himself in the management of these three Madresas (to which one more at Navsari, "the Nasserwanji Tata Madresa," has been lately added) and upto this date he is working in connection with them all with heart and soul. The annual gatherings of the prize distributions of these institutions have become a sort of Pârsî religious convocations, over most of which he presides or where he takes an active part, and makes eloquent and instructive discourses, which are highly prized by the advanced members of the community. But for his enthusiastic and unremitting zeal and labours these institutions would not have been as successful as they are now. As the fruit of Mr. Cama's private class as well as of these institutions there have sprung up in the Pârsî community about a score or two of able scholars of these ancient languages, while others who have a limited knowledge of them are more than two or three hundred in number. Slowly and silently the knowledge of these languages, and of religion in general, is spreading among the Pârsîs, which it is trusted will not fail to bring about profitable results in future.

Not content with this happy result of his labours, Mr. Cama in co-operation with others tried to put these studies on a firmer basis by getting the Avesta and Pahlavi languages introduced in the

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curriculum of the Bombay University. Since the last sixties he had been seeking opportunities to bring about that end. One hindrance or another came in the way, but he was never dismayed. At last the University Senate found that the time had arrived for recognizing these languages in their curriculum. They first introduced them in the M. A. examination, and afterwards in the whole college course. At present a good number of Pârsî youths take up Avesta and Pahlavi for their second language, and it is to be hoped that the number will continue to increase year by year.

Mr. Cama is not only the founder and promulgator of accurate Zoroastrian studies among the Pârsîs, but is also the originator of a new literature in connection with Zoroastrian studies among them. Formerly books and periodicals on Zoroastrianism did appear in Gujerati and at times in English, but in them the critical method of translation and explanation was absent. The close affinity of the language of the Avesta with that of the Vedas and classical Sanskrit was quite unknown. Since the appearance of "a Brief Zend Grammar compared with Sanskrit" by the writer of this article in 1863 A. C. the Dastûrs of the old school also began to derive Avesta words from Sanskrit roots and to make other comparisons, according to their own lights. Faulty as the beginnings were, they nevertheless were efforts in the right direction.

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Mr. Cama has contributed a great deal to this kind of work by writing and publishing several works and periodicals according to this new and critical method. The best of his works is his well-known "Zarthosht Nameh" (The Life of Zoroaster). Previous to this, there did exist among the Pârsîs 'Zarthosht Namehs,' which were however mere translations of the modern Persian Zarthosht Nameh. Most of the European writers on this subject considered its accounts as untrustworthy and this opinion was shared by the rising youths of the Pârsîs themselves. But Mr. Cama went to the original sources, chiefly Avesta, and treated his subject in such a critical and masterly way that he successfully proved therein the works of Zoroaster as historically true. From the 1st February 1866 he started a valuable periodical, called "Zarthoshti Abhyâs" (Studies in Zoroastrianism). It continued for about four or five years. Among its few numbers it contains such valuable information that references are very often made to them even at the present day when important Zoroastrian religious discussions are being carried on. A collection of his lectures in connection with Zoroastrianism, his English essays on Mithraic Worship, Jamshedî Naoroz, &c., are also highly prized and resorted to for information, the knowledge imparted in them being very accurate and useful. Besides these he has published several valuable translations from German scholars, such as Rapp, Spiegel, Roth and others. All his publications are important, as the subjects are judiciously selected.

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Over and above his own productions Mr. Cama has from time to time encouraged other writers on Zoroastrianism by giving prizes to them in public competition or otherwise. The most prominent among them is the Gujerati Translation of the Vendidad by Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga which was the first of its kind among the Pârsîs. Old Gujerati translations of various parts of the Avesta no doubt existed before, but they were generally ungrammatical, verbose and confused, since they were free and very often inaccurate renderings of the Pahlavi translations and commentaries. Now-a-days they have become antiquated, and the necessity of close accurate translations is recognized everywhere not only by the new school but even by the Dastûrs of the old school themselves.

The most important and monumental of Mr. Cama's works in connection with Zoroastrianism, consists of his arduous researches in ascertaining the religious year of the Pârsîs. His studies and knowledge of this subject, requiring a considerable amount of accurate information in philology, physical geography, mathematics, astronomy, chronology, and history, are wide. If the present defective Zoroastrian calendar be ever satisfactorily reformed, his name will always be remembered in that connection with gratitude among the Pârsîs. Whether this highly desirable change be brought about by himself in his life time or by some other person after him, all the credit of initiating that work will mainly be due to him only. He has given scores of lectures already on this intricate and difficult subject. His essay

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thereon called the "Yazdajardi Tarikh" (The Era of Yazdajard) is a masterly piece of work. This alone is enough to bear testimony to his high mental calibre and incessant industry.

The Pârsî community, though more enlightened and progressive than other native communities, does not possess a public institution where all the monuments of its ancient greatness may be preserved. The Pârsîs have not a single large library or museum of the kind. This is a great desideratum among them. With a view to make a beginning in that direction, Mr. Cama joined in the early sixties the Managing Committee of the local Mullâ Firuz Library, which stood in need of good management. As the Secretary, and latterly, as the President of the Committee he has from time to time worked to improve and enlarge the library. Of course it is as yet a small institution. However, if the enlightened Pârsî community would take into their mind to have a Pârsî library and museum worthy of the name, this institution would serve as a good nucleus for the purpose.

In 1864, the Framji Cawasji Institute, wherein the Native General Library of Bombay is also located, was first opened for public use. Its inauguration was as it were made by Mr. Cama by delivering four memorable lectures on the life of Zoroaster, under the auspices of the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ. The late Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, C.I.E., the then President of the Sabhâ, was in the chair in place of the late Mr. Navroji Fardûnji, C.I.E., its permanent

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President, who had gone to England. It was on those occasions, if the writer's memory is not at fault, that a few of the Dastûrs, *i. e.*, the high priests of the Pârsîs, and Pârsî ladies attended the meetings of that association of reformers for the first time. Before that time the reformers were bigotedly opposed or generally shunned by the orthodox priests, as well as by the rich laymen, and the ignorant masses. But it was a singular phenomenon to see the high priests gracing the meetings of the reformers with their presence during those lectures. From that memorable time Mr. Cama has made it a life-long work to deliver lectures by hundreds on religious subjects to the Pârsîs throughout the Bombay Presidency wherever they reside in good numbers. The Zoroastrians, of both sexes, of Bombay, Poona, Navsari, Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, and Karachi have heard dozens and scores of his lectures. Mr. Cama is singularly gifted with the power of lecturing in public in Gujerati. He is not surpassed in that particular by any Pârsî, as regards the number and quality of the lectures. It would not be amiss to call him, therefore, the G. O. M. of the Bombay Pârsîs. Such is his devotedness to the cherished object of his heart, *viz.*, the propagation of Zoroastrian knowledge among the Pârsîs, that he is delivering lectures not only on his own account and in connection with the associations with which he is connected, but also before other societies with which he has no connection.

He is a profound authority on the subjects he discourses upon. He is well conversant with about a

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dozen languages, Oriental and Western, ancient and modern. He is a member of several European learned societies and is always in correspondence with most of the renowned European *savants* who generally consult him on various Zoroastrian topics.

His services in connection with science and education in general.

The Gujerati Dnyân Prasârak Mandli of Bombay (The Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge) is the oldest of its kind in the Bombay Presidency. Founded by the early Elphinstonians, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other pioneers of native enlightenment and progress, it has survived other associations of its kind. In 1898 it celebrated its fifty years' jubilee. It has had the good fortune of securing the valuable services of Mr. Cama, who has delivered a number of lectures in its connection, both in the capacity of a lecturer and as its president. He is such an ardent lover of knowledge and is so very desirous of propagating it among our people that he has been constantly working in connection with this Association for more than three decades.

Besides this Association, several other local scientific and literary societies possess the advantages of his wise counsel and of his moral and material support. He is constantly present at their meetings. Among these may be mentioned the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the Sassoon Mechanic Institute, the Univer

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sity Senate, the Student's Literary and Scientific Society, the Bombay Native General Library, the Anjuman-e-Elmi-e-Farsi and others.

The promotion of female education is one of the cherished objects of his heart. The Zoroastrian Girls' Schools of Bombay, the Navajbai Tata Girls' School at Navsari, and Pârsî Boys' and Girls' Schools in Bombay, both public and private, in which religious and moral education is imparted by the Râhnumâ-i Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ, have all been enjoying the benefit of his valuable support. He now and then presides at their prize distribution gatherings and generally takes an active part as chairman or as member at various meetings of their Managing Committees.

Not only is the cause of scientific, moral, and religious education the object of his care and devotion, but also that of physical training among the natives, chiefly among the Zorastrians, receives his attention. The quondam Pârsî Gymnasium, now styled the Sir Dinshaw Petit Gymnastic Institution, which has given physical training to thousands of native youths, has been under his wise and circumspect guidance nearly for the last four decades.

His services in the cause of philanthrophy.

The Pârsîs in India have been so fortunate as to enjoy all the blessings of the liberal and just government of the British. But their unfortunate brethren, the few remnants of their coreligionists in their ancient father-land, Persia, were labouring

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for a long time under some disadvantages. The Indian Pârsîs, therefore, have formed an Association in Bombay, which has for its object the amelioration of their condition. Mr. Cama has been one of the leading and active members of that association.

The Kadîmî sect of the Pârsîs, to which Mr. Cama belongs, enjoys the advantage of his connection in the management of their several religious and charitable funds, some of which have been founded by several philanthrophic Cama families.

His habits of life, and private character.

After this enumeration of his public virtues and services, the writer now ventures to describe some of the habits and traits of his private character. The writer confesses to a feeling of diffidence in this respect, for Mr. Cama is strangely reticent as regards his private affairs. He might, therefore, be excused, if he falls short of doing full justice to this part of the narrative.

Sobriety and abstemiousness are observed by Mr. Cama to the utmost. This habit has preserved the vigour of his physical and mental powers, even in his present advanced age. In his youth he was very fond of physical exercise. He may be said to possess an iron constitution, for incessantly working from morning till night, he has never been observed to be fatigued or worried, nor has he been known hitherto to have suffered from any bodily ailment.

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The first impression left by Mr. Cama upon the mind of the writer, when he was an inexperienced youth of eighteen, was, so far as he recollects, that of his being an accurate and careful thinker. For he often went to the first principles of every subject he handled, from particulars to generals or from generals to particulars. Anything that he asserted, he never left unproved. Every word uttered by him was suggestive of some useful knowledge or fresh thought. His splendid intellectual powers, vast store of knowledge, wonderfully retentive memory, and lucid method of imparting ideas, have been noticeable. His untiring industry and perseverance, steadfast adherence to the cause of the diffusion of knowledge, and complete self-abnegation have always tended to raise admiration and engender high and ennobling ideas in the writer as well as in his other disciples. The more they came in contact with him, the greater grew their respect and love for him.

The writer has never seen him in anger nor uncharitably inclined towards any person. Forbearing and forgiving to the utmost, he never would speak ill even of his traducers. One would say that he always remembers that he has to give an account to his Creator of every thought, word and action of his life. Of the three cardinal virtues of Zoroastrianism—good thoughts, good words, and good deeds—it may rightly be said that Mr. Cama has combined them in his own person in a very high degree. Less talk and more work is the motto of his life.

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Mr. Cama may truly be said to have practised virtue for its own sake. If one lectures, writes or renders other useful public services, directly or indirectly connected with his profession, however praiseworthy such work may be, it still forms a part of his avocation only. But Mr. Cama's case is quite different. Born and bred in aristocratic surroundings, he could have, if he had chosen, led a life of ease, or spent it in the pursuit of wealth, rank, and worldly grandeur. But leaving them all aside, he has chosen to spend his life in the service of science and in active benevolence. He is one of those who have overcome the frailty of human nature which seeks reward for services, small or great, in this mundane existence. Some practise virtue or charity expecting thereby to become famous among men or to receive titles from their rulers. Some there are who, although conscious of their own unworthiness, procure hirelings to trumpet their names and doings. Many and various are such frailties observed around us. But Mr. Cama is exceptionally above them all. People may praise or censure him, rulers may honour or neglect him, he steadfastly aims at the One Sublime Truth and follows the dictates of his conscience only. His is an example that may profitably be followed by our countrymen. India, our poor country, especially our small Pârsî community, has at present a great need of such self-sacrificing men. Millionaires there exist among us by scores, educated men are among us by hundreds, but few of them may be spending their pecuniary and intellectual wealth so judiciously or to equal advantage.

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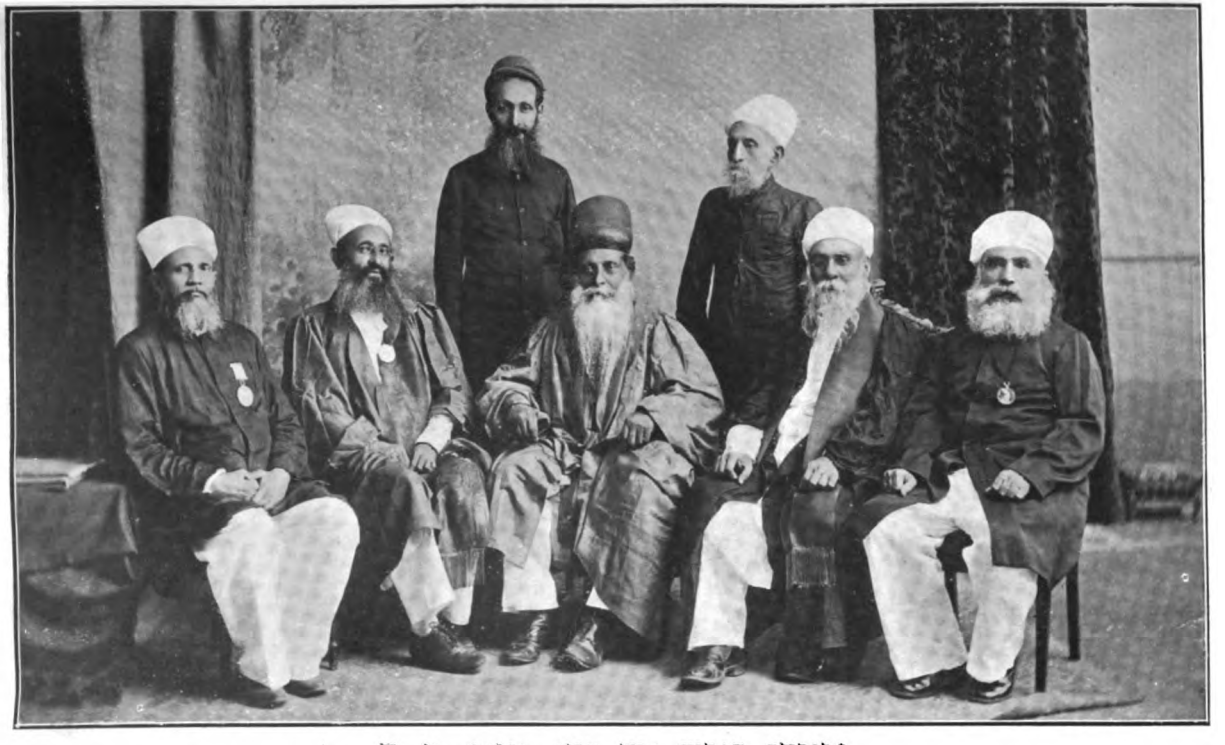
Mr. Cama's pecuniary and intellectual help is rendered in such a way as to produce manifold good results. He never helps the idle do-nothings, but to the honest hard-working and deserving ones his helping hand or wise counsel is always extended. But for his timely aid to the cause of religious learning among the Pàrsîs, a correct knowledge of the ancient lore of Zoroaster would have been long in coming, and the revival of ancient learning that we see amongst us at present would long have been delayed. Noble was this mission of his life and nobly has he fulfilled it.

Bombay, 18th April, 1900.

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K. R. CAMA AND HIS FIRST PUPILS.

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INTRODUCTION.

This Memorial Volume very aptly begins with two learned papers from the pen of *the* first pupil of Mr. Cama. Mr. Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha's first paper is a valuable contribution on the much discussed subject of the age of Zarathustra. He has tried to show that some of the characters named in the Rigveda are identical with a few personages named as contemporaries of Zarathustra in the Avesta. And as "it is an established fact that the hymns of the Rigveda were composed thousands of years anterior to the date which tradition assigns to Zarathustra, *viz.*, 300 years before Alexander the Great," Mr. Sheriarji concludes that Zarathustra, being a contemporary of certain characters in the Rigveda must have "flourished at a time far earlier than the date assigned to him by the later Pahlavi writers." While identifying the heroes named in the Avesta with those in the Rigveda, Mr. Sheriarji says of the Avesta 'Vandaremana' and the Vedic 'Bhayamâna' that "the last part of this name 'Vandaremana' *viz.*,'-mana' appears also as the last part of the Vedic name 'Bhayamâna'; 'Vandare' may, therefore, be a word meaning 'bhaya'=fear. If 'Vandare' can be ascertained to have had the same meaning 'fear,' then Vandaremana, the father of Arjâçpa, is the same person as the Vedic Bhayamâna." This is a very ingenious theory and can be supported by deriving 'vandare' from Avesta 'van', to strike.

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'Vantâr' then would be a 'striker', and 'Vandâr' would be another form of 'Vantâr.' A striker or one who strikes is a person who generally causes or strikes fear in the hearts of others.

This new attempt, to prove the antiquity of the age of Zarathustra from a comparison of Vedic names and thoughts, is in a line with similar attempts to prove the antiquity of the Avesta by a comparison of the Avesta language with the Vedic Sanscrit. The latest attempt in this direction is that of Mr. Louis H. Gray, a pupil of Prof. Jackson of Columbia College.[1] In a very interesting and learned article in a literary periodical of America, he handles the subject of "Avestan conditional sentences" and after a lengthy examination of the subject, brings us to the conclusion that "the types of the conditional sentences in Avesta are quite the same as those which meet us in the Vedic language and that, in one instance—the Unfulfilled Condition—the Avesta type is older than the Greek." This subject then indirectly proves the antiquity of the Avesta and hence the antiquity of the age of Zarathustra, the writer of the oldest part of the Avesta.

Mr. Sheriarji's second paper "Pâzend and English versions of a chapter of the Pahlavi Dînkard relating to the solar and luni-solar years in

[1] Annals N. Y. Acad. sci. Vol. XII, No. 13, pp. 549 to 588. May 12, 1900.

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the Zoroastrian religion" is an appropriate contribution to the volume intended to memorialize the services of one, who has among his many-sided activities, devoted much of his time in making original researches into the subject of the Zorastrian calendar.

Several other gentlemen also, have given valuable contributions on the same subject of the Zoroastrian calendar. Mr. Meherjibhai Nosherwanji Kuka's paper is a learned attempt to explain why the names of the Pârsî months, which are the same as those of some of the days of the month, are not in the same regular order as that presented by the names of the days.

Mr. Rustomji Pestonji Karkaria's interesting paper, "A study in the History of Chronology," points out a curious resemblance, borne by the later calendar of the French Revolution to the ancient calendar of the Persians. Mr. Karkaria has shown elsewhere[1] that the modern Frenchmen resemble the ancient Persians in another matter also. He has pointed out that the calendar of Saints formed by Comte in his "Religion of Humanity" is somewhat similar to the calendar of Saints found in the Fravardin Yasht of the Pârsîs, a calendar to which new names are being added even now, though in quite a different manner.

It is curious that the modern French resemble the Persians in several matters other than the two, so

1 B. B. R. Asiatic Society's Journal.

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well pointed out by Mr. Karkaria. Modern France resembles Persia in several points. France is to Europe, what Persia is to Asia. The French language is to the Europeans, what Persian is to the Asiatics. Of all the countries of Europe that Nasruddin, the late Shah of Persia, passed through, during his first tour, he liked France the most, because, as he said, the soil, the trees and the flowers of France were like those of Persia.[1] He also compared the climate of France to that of Irân, and said that the French people were like the Persians. For its sweetness the Persian language is called the "French of the East." It is on account of its climate, soil, &c., that Shîrâz, the beautiful city of Persia is called the "Paris of Persia." To carry comparisons still further, Paris, the capital of France, derived its name from the very fact which gave its name to Pahlavi, the language of Irân in Sassanian times. It is said that Paris received its name from 'Parisii', a Celtique race which lived there in ancient times and the name 'Parisii' signified "the people on the frontiers". The word Pahlavi also signified "on the frontiers." Thus the word *Paris* is well nigh the same as the word *Pahlavi*. Thus we see that the modern Parisians have a good many things—the calendar of their time, the calendar of

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[1] شباهتشان باهالي مشرق زمين بيشتر است .....
مثل ايران است اغلب گلها و درختهاي ايرانرا امروز در
اينجا ديدم ..... پاريس شهر يست بسيار قشنگ و خوشگل
و خوش هوا غالباً آفتاب بسيار شبيه است بهواي ايران

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their Positivist Church, the condition of their soil, trees and flowers, their climate, their language, their manners—in common with their homonyms the Pârsîs. But there is one thing in which the modern Parisians differ widely from the Pârsîs. It is the life of celibacy which the Parisians prefer. I will quote what I said on this point ten years ago on my return from Paris.[1]

"Il y a une chose dans la vie sociale de Paris et de beaucoup de villes de l'Europe qui frappe un Parsi d'etonnement. C'est la vie celibataire d'un grand nombre de sa population. Par sa tradition historique et par sa religion, un Parsi aime toujours le mariage. Sa religion dit qu'Ahura Mazda le Dieu Zoroastrien aime un homme avec une epouse mieux que celui qui n'en a point. Il aime un homme qui est père d'enfants mieux que celui qui ne l'est pas. En un mot, il aime un homme qui mène une vie mariée mieux que celui qui mène une vie celebataire. Je crois que la mode de mener une vie seule est un mal qui accompagne la civilisation de quelques pays de l'Europe. Mais je desire que la civilisation des Parsis ne soit pas accompagnée par ce mal qui accompagne la civilisation de leurs homonymes les Parisiens."

But it is gratifying to find that even in this point the Parisians are now trying to follow the ancient Persians. They begin to find that this phase of their social life leads to the depopulization of France. Hence, some of their patriotic senators, and among them M. Pivot, think of introducing an Act for the prevention of celibacy and for the encouragement of marriage. They recommend those very measures

[1] Impressions d'un Parsi sur la ville de Paris, pp. 13, 14.

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which according to Herodotus, were adopted by the ancient kings of Persia in this matter. [2]

There are two other papers in this volume, which, though they do not directly refer to the ancient Irânian calendar, have a close connection with it. They are at least subjects, to which the attention of their respective authors was drawn by Mr. Cama's discussion of the great question of the ancient calendar of Irân before the two literary societies: 'Jarthosti Dîn-nî Khol karnâri-Mandlî' and the 'Navroz Committee.'

Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria's paper, "Asterisms in Iranian Literature" is a very important contribution on the subject. His attempt at comparison of the Pahlavi names of the asterims with those of other languages is to a great extent successful. As to the first two asterims his comparison of the Sanskrit 'Asvinî' and 'Bharani' with 'Açpini' and 'Yaoni' of the Avesta, deserves special mention. It is quite correct. The Pahlavi interpreters and the modern translators of Y. XLII, 2, Yt. 2, 3, Ib., 8, may be held to have taken another course in translating the words as they have done. The words seem to have been used there as abstract and common nouns. Possibly they may have derived the meanings in the same way as we derive words like 'Machiavellism' from the proper name Machiavel, or, كرسپوزي from the proper name كرسپوز, and in the same way as the later Pâzend words

[2] Vide my pamphlet on "The Marriage customs among the Parsis," p. 4

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'Kîkân', 'Karapân', and 'Sàstârân' are derived from the Kavis, the Karapas, and the Usikhsh, the three families that opposed Zarathustra in the spread of his new religion. This is a proper subject for further research.

Mr. Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadershaw's paper on "The Zoroastrian months and years with their divisions in the Avestaic age" is another contribution, resulting from a close study of collateral literature, on the great question of the Persian calendar. He has treated his subject exhaustively. As the author of the paper says, the subject deserves the patient study of many a student.

Messrs. Nosherwanji Barjorji Desai and Manekji Rustamji Unwala's contributions, consist of passages from the Pahlavi Dînkard and from old Persian authors on the subject of the Irânian calendar. Whether the ancient Persians added an intercalary day every four years, or an intercalary month every 120 years, is an important question in the controversy about the calendar. It is quite possible, that different parts of the country had different systems. Mr. Unwala's passages supply evidence on both the sides, the older passage being in favour of the system of adding an intercalary day every four years.

Mr. Palanji Barjorji Desai's paper on the omission of the History of the Achæmenides from the Pahlavi works of the Pârsîs, is a very intersting contribution, as coming from the pen of a known Pârsî student of history, in the matter of a much discussed question. Mr. Desai attributes the omission to the fact "that the

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Pahlavi writers were quite ignorant of the very existence of the Achæmenian Empire and its kings." It was a long line of centuries that intervened between the two dynasties—the Achæmenian and the Sassanian—that brought about, according to Mr. Desai, the ignorance on the part of the Sassanian Pahlavi writers. There is one thing which must be specially noted in the consideration of this subject. It is that the Persians, like the ancient Indians, were never good historians, in the sense in which we understand the Greek and the Romans to have been historians. Take the case of India. Here, there were no such adverse circumstances in the case of the Indian literature, as there were in Persia; but still India, in spite of its varied literature, has not, with the exception of the well-known Râjatarangini, which treats of the history of Cashmere, produced any book of history worthy of its name.[1] The ancient Persians chronicled, though very imperfectly, their war with Alexander, because the war was with them, as it were, a struggle for life and it is only such struggles for life that lead nations to chronicle the events of those struggles with some enthusiasm. It was such a "struggle for life" for the Greeks that led them to chronicle fully the events of the Persian wars, though with a colour of patriotic exaggeration. We see the same thing in the case of Rome. What the Persian wars were to the Greeks, the Punic wars were to the Romans.

[1] History of Sanskrit Literature by MacDonnel.

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Dr. Wilhelm's paper entitled "Contributions to the critic of the Avesta Text" is a learned attempt to settle the reading of several words of the Avesta. It appears that there still remain some old texts in India, which were not available to previous editors. In the new cheap edition of the Vendidâd, that is being prepared for the University students under the patronage of the Trustees of the Pârsi Panchâyet, the Editor, Mr. Edalji Kersaspji Antia has been able to secure for collation a fragment of an old MS. hitherto unexamined. It will possibly throw some more light on the forms of some of the words treated by Dr. Wilhelm in his paper.

Khan Bahadur Nowroji Dorabji Khandalawala contributes two papers. He handles his subjects from a Theosophist's point of view. Opinions may differ as to his second paper on "Frashokard and Rebirth," but with regard to his first paper on "The Holy Sraosh", one can say that the Theosophistic point of view is the same as the common-sense point of view. It is the same as the ordinary Zoroastrian point of view. One need not be frightened at the word "Theosophy." All religions are Theosophistic in one sense. Mr. Khandalewala presents an ennobling view of the Yazata Sraosha as conceived by the Avesta itself. It is "obedience to the Law (Asha)" that governs the world in all its phases. It is that obedience which is typified by this great spiritual power. Sraosha is always spoken of in the Avesta as 'ashya.'

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Shamsh-ul-Ulamâ Dastûr Dârâb Peshotan Sanjânâ's short but pithy paper on "The Avesta interpretation of Sraosha, Asraosha and Asrushtim" presents a similar view of Sraosha. As he very aptly points out, 'srushti' (obedience) must be the principal virtue of a Zoroastrian household. Hence it is that all the Zoroastrian prayers recited in the different *Gâhs* or periods of the day begin with the *Sraosh Bâj*. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] the Zoroastrian meaning of sin (𐬬𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬎 'vanâç', Pers. گناه, from Av. 'vî' and 'naç,' Lat. nec-are) would be 'destruction.' It would, I think, mean 'transgression' as well (from Av. 'vî' and 'naç,' Lat. nanc-ire, 'to reach' as in the word 𐬬𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬎). In the latter case, the Zoroastrian definition of sin would be well nigh the same as the Christian definition: "Sin is the transgression of the law."[2] Then the Zoroastrian definition of 'patet' "repentance" (*lit.*, "regress" from Av. 'paiti,' "back" and 'i', Lat. 'i-re' "to go") would be "receding from the transgression of the law (Asha)." How is one to recede or return from the transgression? By progressing towards 'srushti', *i.e.*, obedience, and by receding from 'a-srushti' *i.e.*, disobedience. The path of obedience to the Law (Asha) is the only path of virtue. The following lines[3] found in the colophons of some Iranian manuscripts sum up the question very beautifully:

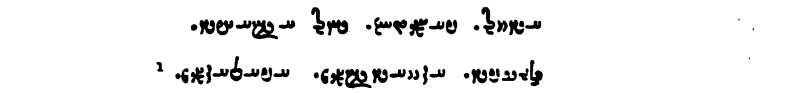
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[1] Lecture on ગુનાહ અને તેની પશેત, *i.e.*, "Sin and Repentance" delivered before the Bazm-i-Jashn-i-Roz-Oharmazd in September 1900 at the Framji Cowasji Institute.

[2] I John III, 4.

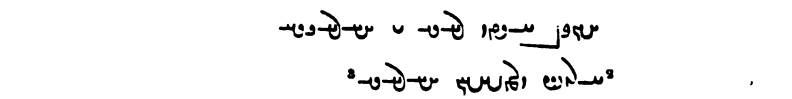
[3] Dastur Dr. Hoshangji's MS. of the Bundahishn, p. 230 b.

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"There is only one path of virtue. All other paths are no paths."

The Pahlavi rendering of it is



After reading Mr. Khandalawala's paper on Sraosh and the learned Dastur's paper on the same subject, one can very well say with Dr. Casartelli "Voila le résumé de toute religion. [4] "

Dr. Mills' short but pithy paper on "The existence of the moral idea in the Gâthas" is as it were a fitting accompaniment of the above papers on Sracsha, as his theme is based on 'Asha.' This paper is in a line with Dr. Mills' other learned essays on the subject of 'Asha,' such as 'Asha as the Law in the Gâthas' and 'The Personified Asha'. No one is more entitled to speak with authority on the subject of the moral contents of the Gâthas than Dr. Mills, who has made the Gâthas his life-long study.

Dr. Casartelli's contribution, "Outre-tombe", is a very successful attempt to popularize what Dr.

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[1] Some MSS. have 

[2] Some MSS. give for this line 

[3] Avi-râŋ

[4] L' Idée du Péché chez les Indo-Eraniens de l'Antiquitè, p. 14.

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Cheyne calls "a very noble allegory in the Vendidâd.[1]" His renderings are as delightful as they are impressive. I think the Pârsîs need such renderings of their Avesta writings into English verse. It is a general complaint that the rising generation is not in sufficient touch with the religious thoughts of their scriptures. Dr. Casartelli's attempts, therefore, at popularizing Avesta moral episodes, deserve all praise. For the same reason Dr. Mills' rendering of the Gâthas into English verse is deservedly appreciated. From the same point of view I think that a free rendering of the whole of the Avesta into Gujarati rhymed verse is a desideratum. Dr. Casartelli and Dr. Mills' renderings are attempts at popularizing Avesta writings among the highly educated. The Gujarati rendering would popularize them among the masses, especially among women and children who are fond of Gujarati rhymed couplets.

Mr. Bahmanji Nasserwanji Dhâbhar's paper: "Modern Avesta of Milton" also appears to me to be a laudable attempt in the direction of popularizing some of the religious thoughts of the Avesta. Some of the comparisons are very interesting. To the long list of Mr. Dhâbhar's comparisons I will venture to add one, *viz.*, that of Azidahâka or Zohâk and Satan. Azidahâka is represented in the Avesta and Pahlavi works, as having three heads,

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[1] The Origin of the Psalter, p. 398.

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three mouths and six eyes[1]. Milton speaks of three changes in the face of Satan.

"Each passion dimm'd his face
Thrice changed with pale ire, envy and despair."

Paradise Lost, Bk. IV, l. 144.

Milton is supposed to have derived this description of Satan from Dante's 'Divine Comedy.' The following lines of that masterpiece of Italian poetry, present, as it were, a counterpart of the Avestaic description of Zohâk.

"Oh, what a sight!
How passing strange it seem'd, when I did spy
Upon his head *three faces*: one in front
Of hue vermillion, the other two with this
Midway each shoulder join'd and at the crest;"

Hell. Canto XXXIV, ll. 35-39.

"At *six eyes* he wept: the tears
Adown *three chins* distill'd with bloody foam.
At *every mouth* his teeth a sinner champ'd,
Bruised as with ponderous engine; so that three
Were in his guise tormented.[2]"

Hell. Canto XXXIV, ll. 49-53.

Different commentators of Dante interpret the three faces of Satan, referred to by Milton, in different ways. According to Vellutello they symbolize

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[1] ... Yt. 14, 40; Yt. 5, 29; Yt. 19, 50; Y. IX, 8.

[2] Translation of Rev. Cary. pp. 180-81.

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"anger, envy and melancholy humour," or as Milton speaks of them "ire, envy and despair." "The Ottimo and Benvenuto both interpret the three faces as symbolizing Ignorance, Hatred and Impotence. Others interpret them as signifying the three quarters of the then known world, Europe, Asia and Africa.[1]" Our Pahlavi commentators do not say anything as to what the three faces of Azi Dahâka symbolize.

Mr. Dhâbar's comparison of some of the thoughts of the Avesta and Pahlavi books with those of Milton's Paradise Lost, reminds us of the ideas of celestial councils common in both. The account of the celestial council, which holds, as it were, the trial of Keresâsp[2] specially brings to one's mind the description of similar councils in Milton's poem.

Dr. West's valuable contribution, "On the transliteration of Pahlavi", deserves great consideration from Pahlavi students. Of the few distinguished European scholars, who have kindly contributed to this volume, Bombay can claim Dr. West as its own, because it was during his professional career as an Engineer in this Presidency about thirty three years ago, that his attention was first drawn to the study of Pahlavi. He once paid a casual visit to the well-known Kennery Caves, in the vicinity of Bombay, where the Pahlavi inscription in the cave No. 66[3], drew his attention to the

[1] The Divine Comedy translated by Longfellow, Inferno, p. 196.

[2] S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, pp. 373-80.

[3] Vide an account of my visit to the caves in the Jam-i Jamshed of 15th, 16th, 17th and 21st December 1887.

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study of Pahlavi, which, at first begun in Bombay, was subsequently prosecuted, with great assiduity and zeal in Munich. "Those who have seen this modest scholar working quietly at his translations in a retired corner of Rottmannstrasse in Munich, have not failed to admire his great assiduity and zeal for work[1]." At the end of his paper, Dr. West modestly suggests to Mr. Cama and others his scheme of transliteration as "likely to be useful for solving the complicated problem of making Pahlavi intelligible, both to reader and writer." I think Mr. Cama cannot do better than submit it for examination and discussion before his "Society for the promotion of researches into Zoroastrian Religion." The Bombay students as a body, will then have an opportunity of giving an expression to their views about it. Uniformity in the matter of transliteration of Pahlavi is a desideratum which needs to be supplied.

Dastûr Kaikhusrû Jâmâspji Jâmâspâsânâ's contribution, the translation of "The Mâdigân-i-Mâh-i Farvardin Roz Khordâd" is important, as it is prepared from the original text preserved in the old codex MK belonging to his late lamented father Dastûr Dr. Jâmâspji Minocheherji.

Prof. Jackson contributes several interesting notes under the title of "Some Avestan Texical and Grammatical Notes." As to his note No. 5 on the word 'vanharesta' in Tahmuras Fragment 11, his translation based on the Pahlavi version as

[1] The Times of India. 3rd November 1892.

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given by Darmesteter seems to be correct. But it must be noted that the sin of *kushâd duvârishn* referred to by Darmesteter (Le Zend Avesta III, p. 55) as " n'ayant ni Sadèrè ni Kosti " refers particularly to the Kosti. This sin of *kushâd duvârishn*, as it is named in the Patet, is traditionally understood to refer to " moving about without the Kosti." Even when the Sadèrè is on the body, it is considered improper to move about without the Kosti.

Dr. Geldner's note on the Avesta word '*as*,' is very important. It gives quite a new meaning to the word '*as*' which, following its Pahlavi rendering '*kabad*' (much), many were disposed to compare with French '*assez*'. There is one fact which tends to support Dr. Geldner's rendering of the word *viz.*, that the word verethrajăstemô being in the superlative degree there was no need at all to add '*as*', as a particle expressing greater intensity.

Dr. Geldner says " sometimes we may learn a lesson even from a mistake of the Pahlavi translation." Yes, we do so many a time. We profit, not only by the mistakes of Pahlavi translators, but also by the mistakes of some old Pahlavi copyists. The following is an interesting case of this kind.

In Vendidâd V, 41-42 there is a question as to after what period after death a house or a place can be considered to be clean and habitable. Two periods are assigned : nine days (*lit.*, nights)

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in winter and thirty days in summer.[1] Now the question is: Which months are winter months and which the summer months? We find a reply to that question in Bundahishn Chap. XXV, 7,[2] where it is said that the seven months, from the first day of the first month to the thirtieth day of the seventh month, are the summer months, and the other five months, with the five supplementary days at the end, are the winter months. It is there further enjoined that the priest shall fulfil the regulations about the corpses and other things, *i. e.*, about the cleaning of the house, above referred to, according to the calculation given there about summer and winter. The Bundahishn then proceeds to say that during the *seven* summer months the 'gâhs,' *i.e.*, the prayer periods of the days and nights, are five and that during the five winter months they are four, the first two, *i.e.*, the Hâvan and the Rapithwin of the summer months, being considered as one—the continuous Hâvan. Now the later Persian writers and Persian translators of the Bundahishn generally spoke of the summer months, during which the Rapithwin Gâh was counted as the Rapithwin months, and of the winter months as دیگر هاون "second Hâvan months[3]".

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1 Vide my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsis, their Origin and Explanation" in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. II, No. 7, p. 430. Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter II, p. 146.

2 S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 94.

3 A Bd. MS. of Mr. Maneckji Rustamji Unwala kindly lent to me gives these renderings.

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Thus the proper injunction is this: that during the five winter months, or the second Hâvan months, the place, where the corpse is laid before being carried to the Tower of Silence, should be set apart—and nobody allowed to go there—for ten days, and during the seven summer months or the Rapithwin months, for thirty days, because the decomposition and contamination during summer being generally more rapid, there was a greater likelihood of the place being infected by the corpse that was laid there.

But the practice, as it actually exists now in India, is quite the contrary. At present, it is during the five months of the second Hâvan that the place is set apart for thirty days, and it is during the seven months of the Rapithwin that it is set apart for ten days. Then what is the reason of this change in practice, quite contrary to the writings of the Vendidâd and the Bundahishn? I attribute it to a mistake in the original copy from which all the Bundahishn manuscripts are derived. As Dr. West says in his note to the translation of the passage of the Bundahishn, above referred to, all manuscripts have, in the latter place, where they speak of the gâhs, given 'panj,' five (months) instead of seven, as the summer months. This is evidently a mistake of the original copyist, because just a little above, the summer months are spoken of as "seven months." Some might be inclined to think that a practice once existing was not likely to be changed through the mistake of a copyist. But there is one important thing that possibly led the people

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to change the practice. The spirit of the original Vendidâd injunction was to set apart the particular spot where the dead body was placed before its removal to the Tower, for a period, varying according to the seasons,—for a short period during winter and a longer one during summer, when owing to heat, the place was more likely to be contaminated or infected by the decomposing body. Now, as the custom of counting an additional intercalary day every four years or a month every 120 years was dropped, the order of the seasons according to the months was reversed. Looking to the spirit of the sanitary injunction, the change in the practice was necessary. Thus the original mistake of the copyist in the matter of the number, was, it is probable, latterly, not thought to be a mistake. It was taken advantage of, as it suited the convenience of the people and the real spirit of the injunction.

The paper on "King Faridun and a few of his Amulets and Charms," by Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga, is very interesting from an anthropological point of view. The belief in amulets and charms is common to almost all nations and to all ages, to a greater or less extent. We have a number of amulets in the Revâyets written in Pahlavi, Pâzend or Persian. Some of the Avesta fragments (Miscellaneous Fragments, Westergaard, p. 331) seem to be amulets in the Avesta language. Fragment No. II is undoubtedly an Avesta amulet with the name of Faridun (Thraêtaona) in it[1].

[1] Vide my paper on "An Avesta amulet" read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 31st October 1900.

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It was in more than one respect that, as Mr. Kavasji Kanga says, "Faridun was to the Persians what Æsculapius was to the ancient Greeks." 1) In the poems of Homer, Æsculapius was at first a pious physician. He was latterly raised to the dignity of a god. The same was the case with Faridun. According to the Avesta, he was at first, an ordinary man. It was latterly that he was raised to the dignity—though not of an angel[1]—of an extraordinary man with miraculous healing powers. 2) Æsculapius had some connection with snakes, which were kept in the temples dedicated to him. There is nothing like it in the case of Faridun, but still his name is connected with Azi-Dahâka (*lit.*, the *snake* Dahâka), who was supposed to bear *snakes* on his shoulders. 3) The cock was a bird sacred to Æsculapius. The cock, though not sacred to Faridun, plays a prominent part in the tradition of Azi-Dahâka (Zohâk) and Faridun, according to which, Zohâk was fettered with chains by Faridun on the mountains of Demâvend. Zohâk daily licked the chain with his tongue, with a view to break it ultimately and run away. When the chain was just on the point of breaking, a cock, placed there by Faridun, crowed, and the weakened chain at once returned to its original condition. It is an allegorical allusion to the phenomenon of Day and Night and to the idea of Resurrection.

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[1] Cf. Firdousi :—

فریدون فرخ فرشته نبود
ز مشک و ز انبر سرشته نبود

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In the matter of the first amulet given by Mr. Kanga, where Faridun is mentioned as extirpating the noxious creatures of the land, Faridun's art may be compared to that of the Greek physician Apis, by whose magical arts "the brood of monstrous serpent forms which through the anger of the gods had infested it (*i. e.*, the country) were driven out—much as Ireland was cleared of reptiles by St. Patrick.[1]"

The paper on "A few statements of the Avesta as understood by the writers of the Revâyet" by Mr. Edalji Kersaspji Antia, gives us an insight into the several multifarious features of the Revâyets, which, as Mr. Antia says, play an interesting part in the study of the history of the Pârsî Religion. The Pahlavi translations and commentaries of the Avesta, enable us to understand the views of the Pahlavi writers of the later Sassanian times and their immediate successors on the interpretation of the Avesta. The Revâyets enable us to understand the views of still later writers. They present, as it were, a link between the views of the Pahlavi writers and those of comparatively modern times. In their interpretation of the Avesta, the Revâyets generally follow the Pahlavi translations, and are safe, so far as their Pahlavi sources are concerned. But, in what we should call collateral matters, they at times go astray and present to us some very narrow and ill-judged sectarian views, a few of which were properly ridiculed last year in the daily columns of the "Jam-i Jamshed"

[1] Religion in Greek Literature by Lewis Campbell p. 205.

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under the ironical heading of 'રેવાયતની રતન', *i. e.*, "The Jewels of the Revâyets." But as Milton says: "All opinions, all errors, known, read and collated are of much service and assistance towards the speedy attainment of what is Truth". So I think, the students of the history of the Pârsî religion should welcome the publication, in a short time, of the Persian Revàyets by Mr. Mânekji Rustamji Unwâlâ.

Khân Bâhâdur Bahmanji Behramji Patel's "Brief outline of some controversial questions that led to the advancement of the study of religious literature among the Pârsîs" will interest many a student, desirous of making inquiries into the literary activity of the Pârsîs in the field of religious literature during the present century. He begins his paper with a short history of the Revâyets which represent the views of the early Pârsîs. This interesting paper throws a side light on many questions, which were the burning questions of their day, among the Pârsîs. Among the several causes that led to a more critical inquiry into several matters, Khan Bahadur Patel mentions the controversy with the late Dr. Wilson who had atttempted to convert a few Pârsîs to Christianity. This reminds us of what the late lamented Prof. Max Müller said several years ago on this subject. He said of the Pârsî religion: "Here is a religion, one of the most ancient of the world, once the state religion of the most powerful empire, driven away from its native soil, and deprived of political influence, without even the prestige of a powerful or enlightened priest-

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hood, and yet professed by a handful of exiles—men of wealth, intelligence and moral worth in Western India, with an unhesitating fervour, such as is seldom to be found in larger religious communities. It is well worth the earnest endeavour of the philosopher and the divine, to discover, if possible, the spell by which this apparently effete religion continues to command the attachment of the enlightened Pârsîs of India and makes them turn a deaf ear to the allurements of the Brahamanic worship and the earnest appeals of Christian Missionaries."

We may say on this subject that among the several spells, the most effectual is the adaptability of this ancient religion. As Prof. Sabatier says: "The life of a religion is measured by this power of adaptation and renovation.[1]" The Zoroastrian religion, though one of the most ancient, is, on account of its adaptability, always fresh and new in the sight of its votaries. Its antiquity has a charm of its own, but the spell, which binds its followers to it, is the facility with which, in spite of its antiquity, it can assimilate, without violating its principal elements, the new and refreshing ideas of the different ages, and among them, those of the nineteenth century. In spite of the strenuous opposition of a section, the community as a body sees, that as a true religion, Zoroastrianism must be, as it were, a living organism and like all

1 "Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion based on Psychology and History," by Auguste Sabatier translated by Rev. Seed, p. 336.

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living organisms, it has stable elements and moving elements. They cling faithfully to the stable elements and are always prepared to change the moving elements according to time, place and circumstances. Thus, their faithful adherence to the stable elements, and their readiness to adapt the moving elements to the necessities of time, place and circumstance, have hitherto preserved their religion from being absorbed or dissolved into the religion or religions of the teeming non-Zoroastrian millions by whom they are surrounded. A faithful adherence to old customs is enjoined. But if, owing to changed times or circumstances, that is not possible, a wide latitude is permitted in the case of their observance. There is a golden Pahlavi saying which says '*Châre tokhshâk, a-châre khursandih*,' *i. e.*, "Try your best to observe them. If that is not possible rest contented."

The paper of Mr. Pestonji Kuvarji Motiwala, on the "Criminal Law of ancient Irân" takes a lawyer's point of view, of an important branch of Irânian law. As among all ancient nations, so among the ancient Persians, medicine and law did not form, at first, separate professions. Religious teachers were medical men as well as lawyers or judges. Law was inseparably interwoven with religion. If there is any book in the extant Avesta that can be called a book of laws (dâta) it is the Vendidâd, *i.e.*, the law against all kinds of evils, physical and moral. Mr. Motiwala's paper presents a very interesting survey of the

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criminal law as found in that book and in the collateral Pahlavi literature.

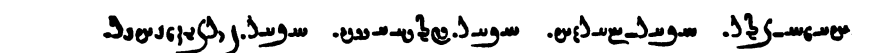
Mr. Kharshedji Minocherji Kateli, Professor of Persian at Wilson College, in his short paper on "Âdar and Âtash in the Pâzand writings" draws out a line of difference between the uses of the words 'Âdar' and 'Âtash' as used by later Pâzand writers. If we examine some earlier Pahlavi writings, such as the Bundahishn, we find the same shade of difference existing there. For example take the 17th chapter of the Bundahishn, where the fires referred to by Mr. Kateli are spoken of. There, the second set of fires, referred to in Mr. Kateli's paper, are spoken of as the five kinds of *Âtash* (אתש אתרו אוש) and the first set as the three *Âtarân* (אתרן אתש).

Mr. Kateli's contention at the end of his paper, that the word Âtash-Behrâm, as applied to the great consecrated fires established in the great fire-temples of India, is not a proper word, and that it should be Âdar-Behrâm, seems to me to be right to a certain extent. But the fault does not seem to lie with the Indian Pârsîs. We find that one of the Pâzand writers also mixes up the two words. He speaks of the fires in the Âtash Behrâms both as *Âdar* and *Âtash*. We read in the Âfrin-i Rapithwin[1]:

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1 Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria's Text of Fravashi, Âfringân, Afrins (1883), p. 222.

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Here the Fires of the Âtash Behrâms (Vaharâms) are spoken of both as 'Âdarân' and 'Âtashân.'

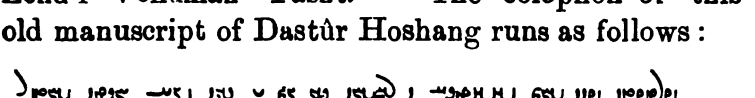
The paper "On the derivation of 'Avesta'" by Dastûr Kaikobad, the Nâyeb Dastûr of the Deccan, is very important, as it presents, what we should call, 'internal evidence' on the much discussed subject of the meaning and the etymology of the word 'Avesta.' There is a good deal of force in the arguments advanced by Dastûr Kaîkobâd. I think that in the consideration of the meaning and etymology of the word Avesta, the word  'hâvista' "disciple" (Yt. X, 116; Y. LXVIII, 12) also requires to be considered. The two words, seem to me to have a good deal in common.

"The difficulties of deciphering Pahlavi" is the subject of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria's paper. He has treated his subject very exhaustively. Besides being one of our few best Pahlavi scholars, Mr. Tehmuras is one of our very few fortunate possessors of old Pahlavi manuscripts. So his remarks about the faults and carelessness of old copyists carry authority. His paper will save many a student from several pitfalls in the course of his study. His learned paper depicts, in a very interesting manner, what we should term the vagaries of the Pahlavi language, and the term "vagaries" may include the vagaries of the copyists, of the authors

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and of the translators, as well as those of the alphabet and the system of writing.

Mr. Tehmuras refers in the course of his paper to his rare old manuscript of the Irânian Bundahishn, otherwise known as "the Grand Bundahishn." Mr. Tehmuras has two old manuscripts of the Bundahishn. The one is the TD referred to by Dr. West [1] and written by Gôpatshâh Rûstôm Bundâr Malkâ-mardân. Dr. West fixes its date at A. Y. 900 (A. C. 1530). The other one was written by Frêdûn Marzapân Frêdûn Vâhrôm Rustâm Bundâr Malkâ-mardân Dînayâr. Mr. Tehmuras considers this latter manuscript written by Frêdûn, to be more correct than that of Gôpatshâh and fixes its date some time between A. Y. 955 and 975. I take this opportunity of giving here the colophon of another old manuscript of Irânian Bundahishn, recently brought to light, by Dastûr Kaîkobâd Âdarbâd of Poona. It belongs to the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulamâ Dastûr Dr. Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona, in whose hands it has passed from the hands of the late Mr. Manekji Jamaspji Ashburner of Bombay. Dastûr Kaikobâd refers to it in his "Text of the Pahlavi Zend-î Vôhûman Yasht." [2] The colophon of this old manuscript of Dastûr Hoshang runs as follows:



[1] S. B. E., Vol. V. Introd., p. xxxii.

[2] Introduction, p. 1.

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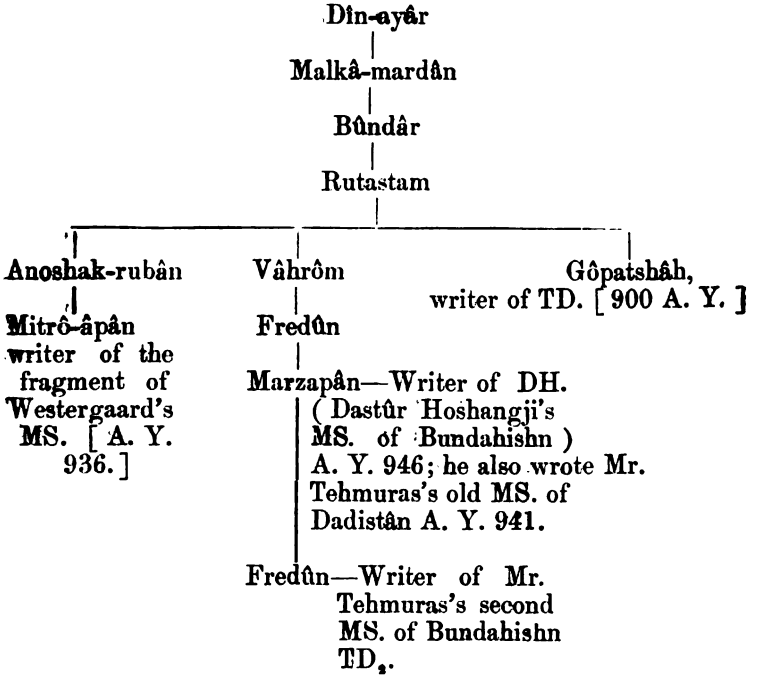
We see from this colophon that this manuscript was written in A. Y. 946 (Rôz Dîn, month Khordâd) by Marzapân Fredûn Vâhrôm Rutastam Bûndâr Malkâ-mardân Dîn-ayâr. The writer thus appears to be of the same family to which the writers of the two manuscripts of Mr. Tehmuras belonged.

Dr. West speaks of an old fragment of the Bundahishn brought from Persia by Prof. Westergaard. That fragment is now in Europe. It is dated 936 A. Y. (1567 A. C.), and was written by Mitrô-âpân, son of Anôshak-rûbân son of Rustâm. The full genealogical line does not seem to

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have been supplied to Dr. West. But as the date is 936 A. Y., it is possible that Mitrô-âpân the writer of this manuscript, also belonged to the above family and was a nephew of Gôpat-shâh.

The genealogical table of this family as presented by these four old manuscripts of the Bundahishn will be as follows.



Dastûr Kaîkobâd had kindly offered his uncle's manuscript to the Trustees of the Pârsî Panchayet to get it printed from the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund in their hands. At the recommendation of the Committee for that fund, they had resolved

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to get it printed by the Photo-zinco process, but it was subsequently found that unfortunately the manuscript had several folios missing (192-199 and 201-209). So it is resolved to print Mr. Tehmuras's second manuscript TD, which though a little later than Dastur Hoshangji's manuscript and much later than TD (Gopatshâh's copy) is more complete and correct.

Of my three papers in this volume, there are two which refer to the hitherto unpublished work known as Jâmâspî. Though the list of the Irânian kings, with the periods of their reigns, as given in the Pâzand Jâmâspî is not correct, I think it will help some students to compare the names of the kings and their years with those given elsewhere. There are very few books in Pahlavi or Persian, with which, copyists, as well as translators, have taken so unbounded a liberty as with the Jâmâspî. The Pahlavi Jâmâspî has subsequently increased in volume in Pâzand, Persian and Gujarati. Being considered a book of prophecy, subsequent writers have added their own so-called prophecies to the original book. The Pahlavi book differs from its Pâzand version and the Persian version from both the Pahlavi and the Pâzand. Take, for instance, the subject of the very passage referred to in the list. The number of years of the ruling kings, given by the Persian Jâmâspî, differs from that given by the Pâzand Jâmâspî. To give an idea of that difference and for comparison, I give below a list of the kings with the years of their reigns as found in the copy

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of a Persian Jâmâspî kindly lent to me by Mr. Manekji Rustamji Unwâlâ.

Names of kings according to the Persian Jâmâspi.	Years of their reign.
Ardeshir Aspandyâr named Bahman ...	125
Homâe Cheherâzâd	35
Dârâb Bahman	14
Dârâ bin Dârâb	12
Sikandar Rumi bin Dârâ	14
Mulûk-i Tavâef upto Ardavân	285
Ardeshir Bâbagân	68
Shâpûr bin Ardeshîr	25
Yazdagird bin Shâpûr	5
Behrâm bin Yazdagird	10
Shâpûr bin Yazdagird	10
Yazdagird bin Shâpûr	20
Behrâm Gour	24
Yazdagird bin Behrâm	15
Firûz bin Yazdagird	9
Narsîh bin Yazdagird	4
Kobâd bin Firûz	44
Noshirvân or Khusrû Kobâd or Kasra ...	49
Hormuzd bin Noshirvân	12
Khusrû bin Hormuzd or Parviz	38
Kobâd bin Khusrû or Shirouyeh	7 months
Ardeshîr bin Kobâd...	1—6 months
Shisindokht bin Khusrû	6 months
Kesur Bânû	1
Yazdagird	25

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The passage from the Pahlavi Jâmâspî translated by me, also confirms, what I have said above, that the authors of later versions, have added much to the original, out of their own imagination. The statement about plague and famine, based by many on some of the later Gujarati versions, is not at all to be found in the original Pahlavi.

As to my other contribution on "a new medal of King Behrâm Gour," I leave it to others, to judge, how far I am correct in deciphering the figures on this medal.[1]

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[1] As the artist has committed a mistake in the obverse of the medal, as printed at the top of the paper, a corrected print is given at the end of the book.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

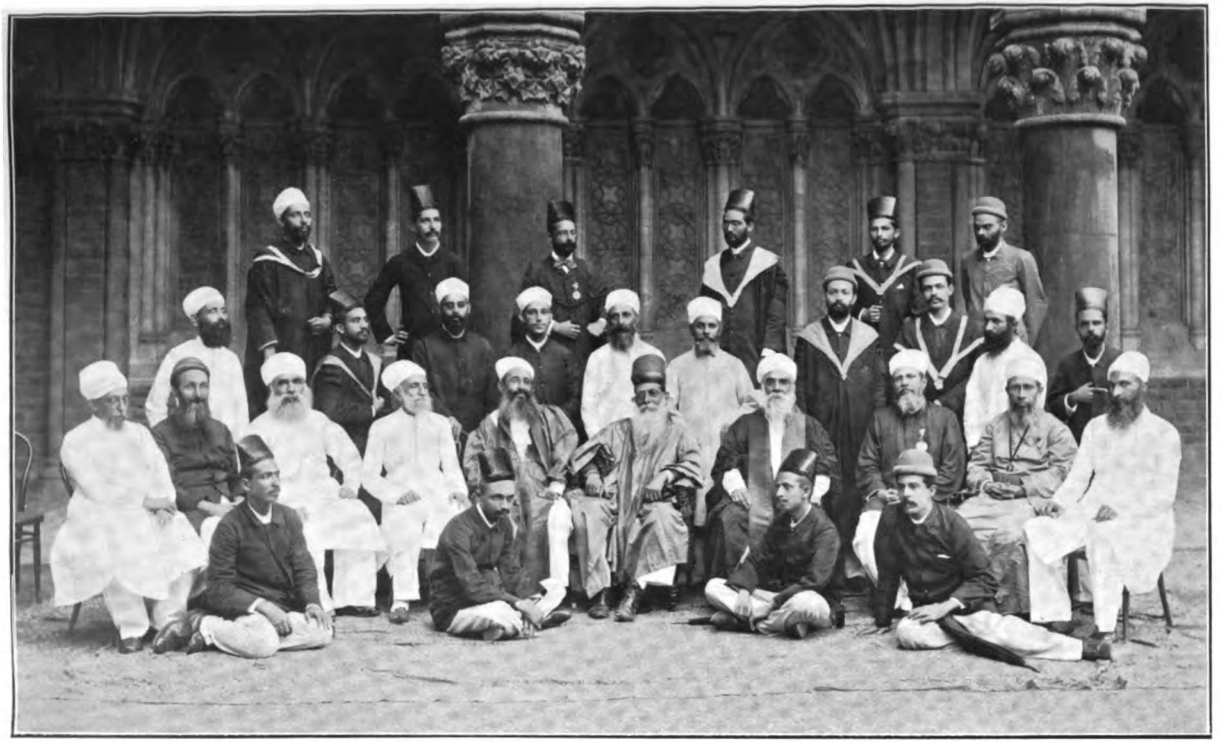
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SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF RESEARCHES INTO ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

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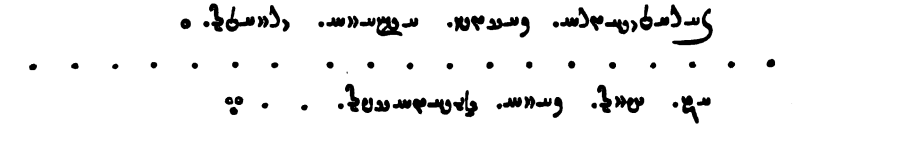
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THE DATE OF ZOROASTER.

(By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha.)

Certain Pahlavi writers assert that Zoroaster flourished only three hundred years before Alexander the Great. The fact that Zoroastrians have never used his date as an era shews that Zoroaster must have lived before the use of eras in the writings of Indo-Iranian peoples came in vogue, and from it the great antiquity of his times may fairly be inferred ; yet the above assertion of the later traditional Pahlavi writers, which has been uniformly copied by succeeding Mahomedan authors, has been accepted as authentic by several scholars both eastern and western. Notwithstanding the weightier assertions of Classical Greek and Roman writers from Plato and Aristotle downwards, who have (some of them on the avowed authority of the Magi of their own times) recorded in their works, to the effect that Zoroaster flourished not only three hundred but some thousands of years before Alexander the Great, and notwithstanding the verification and support which they have received from some of the celebrated scholars of the present century, there are still some learned men of the present time who are inclined to accept the traditional date abovementioned. The writer of these lines is not one of those who disregard the whole of the traditional literature of Irân, still it is his object here humbly to offer further evidence in support of the opinion held by several *Savants* that the date of Zoroaster is not so recent as has been attempted to be made out but that on the contrary it is very remote.

It is well known that Zoroaster flourished in the time of King Vîshtâçpa (Persian Gushtâsp) who was his greatest friend and supporter. In the Gâthâs it is said :—



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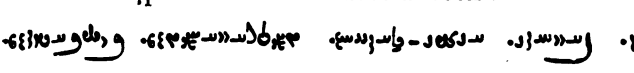
"O Zarathushtra ! who is thy true friend ?.....
It is Kava Vîshtâçpa....." (Y. XLVI, 14).

It is also related in the Avestâ and several other Irânian books that Vîshtâçpa, his brother Zairivairi, and other princes of his family fought battles in defence of the new religion of Zoroaster against Arejat-açpa (Pahlavi and Persian Arjâçp) and several other Daevayaçnas, i. e., worshippers of the Daevas. Besides their chief opponent Arejat-açpa they had also as their enemies his father Vandaremana (Persian Andarimân), and his brothers Darshinika (Persian Bidarafsh) and Humayaka, together with Uçikhs, Tâthravant, Mâna and others. Again King Vîshtâçpa is said in the Avestâ to belong to the clan of the Naotaras (Persian Noderyân) to which also belonged Viçtauru (Persian Gustahm). As might be expected both these Irânian heroes, viz., Vîshtâçpa and Viçtauru, bitterly hated and mortally fought with their Daeva-worshipping adversaries. In the Avestâ Viçtauru is made to speak on the bank of the river Vîtanguhaiti thus :—



"I have smitten as many of the worshippers of the Daevas as the hairs I bear on my head." (Yt. V, 77).

Vîshtâçpa in the Avestâ asks a boon :—



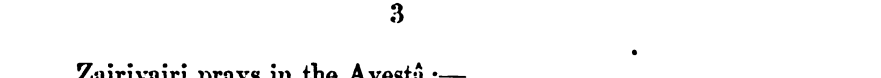
"That I may overcome Tâthravant of the bad law.....
and the wicked Arejataçpa in the battles of this world."
(Yt. V, 109).



"That I may put to flight Darshinika, the worshipper of the Daevas." (Yt. IX, 30).

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Zairivairi prays in the Avestâ :—



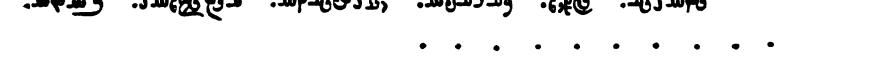
"That I may overcome.....Humayaka, the worshipper of the Daevas, and the wicked Arejataçpa in the battles of this world". (Yt. V, 113).

Similarly the opponent of the Irânians, Arejataçpa the son of Vandaremana is reported in the Avestâ to pray :—

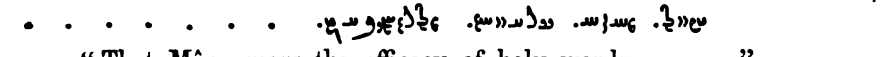


"That I may conquer the valiant Kavi Vîshtâçpa". (Yt. V, 117).

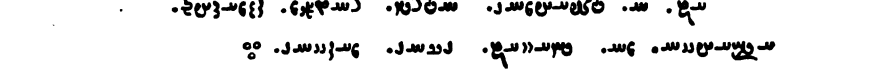
Zoroaster in his Gâthâs complains of Uçikhs, Mâna's sons, Mânya and others that they prefer rapine and lawlessness to a peaceful and industrious life, and nullify the efficacy of his holy words. He (Zoroaster) also asserts his dissent from their mode of worship.



".....Who (viz., the Daeva-worshippers) as well as the Karapan Uçikhs have given up the cow to Aeshma (the demon of rapine)....." (Y. XLIV, 20).



"That Mâna mars the efficacy of holy words....." (Y. XXXII, 10).



"Let the debts of holiness be paid unto Thy Fire, but never, as long as I am able, to that of (the poet) Mânya". (Y. XLIII, 9).

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Thus in the Avestâ we meet with the names of nearly a dozen personages of Zoroaster's time, and their desires and aspirations are pointedly mentioned. Among these Zoroaster, Vîshtâçpa, Viçtauru and Zairivairi are Irânian, and others, viz., Arejataçpa, Vandaremana, Darshinika, Humayaka, Uçikhs, Tâthravant, Mâna and Mânya are non-Irânian. We also notice the name of a river, viz., Vîtanguhaiti where a battle was fought between them.

Now if we turn to the *Rig*veda, we find that these adversaries of the Irânians, i. e., Vîshtâçpa and others, were certain Vedic *Rishis*.

The hundredth hymn of the first Mandala of the *Rig*veda is composed by five sons or descendants of King *Vrishâgir*.

एतत्। स्त्। ते। इन्द्र। वृष्णे। उक्थम्। वार्षागिराः।
अभि। गृणन्ति। राधः।
ऋज्रऽश्वः। प्रष्टिऽभिः। अम्बरीषः। सहऽदेवः।
भयमानः। सुऽराधाः॥

"This then, O Indra, is the hymn the sons of *Vrishâgir*, *Rijrâs'va*, Ambarîsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamâna (and) Surâdhas and their companions sing, and offer their oblation unto thee, a hero." (*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 100, verse 17).

Transmuted into the language of the Avestâ, *Rijrâs'va* would be Erezrâçpa. We have in the roll of the names of holy persons enumerated in the Farvardin Yasht one Erezrâçpa, the son of Uçpâçnu. This Avestic Erezrâçpa cannot be identified with the Vedic *Rijrâs'va*, for the person spoken of as a saint in the Avestâ could not have been a Daeva-worshipper. Also the name of the Avestic saint's father is different from that of the father of the Vedic *Rishi*. We can, however, identify the "wicked" Arejataçpa with this Vedic *Rijrâs'va*; 'Arejat' and '*Rijra*' both being synonymous agentive nouns of the same root 'Arej' = 'Arj' or '*rij*' meaning 'to be swift.' It is well known to scholars that persons may be named after their proper names

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or their synonyms or patronymic, matronymic, epithetic or some such other designations. Accordingly in the Avestâ as well as in the Vedas we find different names or designations used for one and the same person. Sometimes also a person mentioned in the one by his name or some other appellation is referred to in the other by the same name or by a synonymous, or patronymic, matronymic or some other appellation. For example, in the Gâthâ Ahunavaiti (Y. XXVIII, 3) 'Varedaitî Armaitis' ' for 'çpentâ Armaitis' '; in the *Ri*gveda (Mandala I, hymn 122, verse 4) Aus'ik, a matronym used for the proper name of a person called Kakhshivân. Again in the *Ri*gveda 'Ashvins' is a synonym for Nâçatyâs. Apo is both in the Avestâ and the *Ri*gveda a name of the genius of waters, which is also called in the Avestâ by a synonymous patronym 'Ahurânî' i. e., daughters of Ahura. Thus we can see that the Avestic Arejataçpa is none other than the Vedic King *Ri*jrâs'va. The Shâhnâmeh and other Irânian writings speak of Arejataçpa or Arjâçp being a Turânian. But this is erroneous, for the last element açpa=as'va, both in the Avestic and the Vedic names, is obviously Indo-Irânian and therefore Arejataçpa, the chief opponent of Vîshtâçpa, must have been a Vedic personage and not a Turânian.

A most formidable enemy of the family of Vîshtâçpa was, according to the Irânian authorities, Bîdarafsh, one of the brothers of Arjâçp. This name Bîdarafsh must be a corruption of the Avestic name Vîdarafshinika, occurring in a certain old Avestic text other than the one in common use where it occurs only as Darshinika. Now 'Darafsh' the last part of this name meaning 'banner cloth' is a synonym of the Vedic Sanskrit, *Ambara*, meaning 'cloth', which we actually find in the name Ambarîsha, that of the brother of the Vedic prince *Ri*jrâs'va. Thus Bîdarafsh and Ambarîsha are one and the same person.

The father of Arejat-açpa, according to the Avestâ, was Vandaremana. The last part of this name, viz., 'mana', appears also as the last part of the Vedic name Bhayamâna; 'Vandare' may, therefore, be a word meaning 'bhaya' =

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fear. If 'Vandare' can be ascertained to have had the same meaning 'fear', then Vandaremana, the father of Arjâçp, is the same person as the Vedic Bhayamâna, who was with prince *Ri*jrâs'va.

In the same way we can identify Humayaka, the Avestic opponent of Zairivairi, the brother of Vîshtâçpa, with the Vedic Surâdhas, the brother of *Ri*jrâs'va; the Avestic *hu* being the same as the Vedic *su*, and the Avestic 'maya' (Persian 'mâyeh' =wealth, capital) being a synonym of the Vedic 'râdhas', wealth. Thus Humayaka is the same person as the Vedic prince Surâdhas.

In this way, out of the five Vedic princes we have identified four with the four opponents of Vîshtâçpa and his family, mentioned in the Avestâ, the Shâhnâmeh and other Irânian books. Both the Irânian authorities and the *Ri*gveda are at one in declaring them brothers and descendants of a royal family. Their names, manifestly Indo-Irânian, lead us to conclude that it must have been the five joint authors of the hundredth hymn of the first Mandala of the *Ri*gveda who fought against King Vîshtâçpa, in whose time Zoroaster proclaimed his religion. Again though the names of Vîshtâçpa and other Irânian opponents of these Vedic princes do not occur in this hundredth hymn of the first Mandala of the *Ri*gveda, one of its verses alluding to a battle suggests that the hymn was perhaps composed and recited by its authors on the eve of a fight with their Irânian opponents. The verse runs thus :—

सः। मन्युऽमीः। मऽमर्दनस्य। कर्ता। अस्माकेभिः।
नृऽभिः। सूर्यम्। सनत्।
अस्मिन्। अहन्। सत्ऽपतिः। पुरुऽहूतः। मरुत्वान्।
नः। भवतु। इन्द्रः। ऊती॥

"He, the humiliator of (the enemy's) pride, the hero of the battle—may he make the light of the sun accessible to our warriors. This day (he who is) the lord of the good, he

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invoked by many—may (that) Indra accompanied by the Maruts stand for our protection."

(*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 100, verse 6).

Might not the words 'this day' &c., allude to the particular battle spoken of in the Avestâ as having been fought between Vîshtâçpa and Arejataçpa ?

Now let us turn from these princely antagonists to the priestly enemies of King Vîshtâçpa and the prophet Zoroaster.

The 122nd hymn of the first Mandala of the *Rig*veda is composed by Kakshivân, the son of Dîrghatamas. Being born of a woman named Us'ij, he calls himself by the matronym Aus'ij, as in the following Vedic verse:

उत। स्या। मे। यशसा। श्वेतनायै। व्यन्ता। पान्ता। औशिजः। दुवध्यै।
प्र। वः। नपातम्। अपाम्। कृणुध्वम्। प्र। मातरा। रास्पिनस्य। आयोः॥

"And the son of Us'ij (is intent) on invoking those my glorious As'vins, who at the dawn of day eat (the offering) (and) drink (the Soma). And praise ye (my friends), the son of waters (Agni), your (favourite); (praise ye) the parents of the rustling traveller."

(*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 122, verse 4).

Zoroaster also in expressing his detestation for him calls him by the same matronym in the following Gâthic verse.



'.....Who (viz., the Daeva-worshippers) as well as the Karapan Uçikhs have given up the cow to Aeshma (the demon of rapine)..... (Y. XLIV, 20).

As Kakshivân, the son of Dîrghatamas, is spoken of by himself as well as by Zoroaster by his matronym Aus'ij, so King Vîshtâçpa speaks of him in the Avestâ as Tâthravant, which is

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his patronym. Tâthravant in the Avestâ signifies 'the son of one whose name means passionate' and as such is synonymous with the Vedic Dîrghatamas which also means 'the son of one having long enduring passion,' and Dîrghatamas is, as has been said above, actually the name of the father of Kakshivân in the Vedas.

Again in the thirteenth verse of this same hymn, Aus'ij despises King Vîshtâçpa of the family of the hero Viçtauru (Gustahm) thus :—

किम्। इष्टऽअश्वः। इष्टऽरश्मिः। एते। ईशानासः। तरुषः। कृजते। नृन्॥

"What (can) Ishtâs'va of the family of Ishtaras'ma (do)? These overpowering rulers (i. e., the Vedic gods) will subjugate the people". (*Ri*gveda, Mandala I, hymn 122, verse 13).

These words of the Vedic *Ri*shi Kakshivân are remarkably striking, for the two persons he speaks of are manifestly the Avestic Vîshtâçpa and Viçtauru. As Vîshtâçpa, when articulated by the Greek tongue, became Hystaspes, so pronounced by this Vedic *Ri*shi, it assumed the form Ishtâs'va. More striking is the name Ishtaras'ma, coming as it does from the mouth of the Vedic *Ri*shi, for the final syllable *ma* does not occur in the present Avestâ text, but it occurs in the later Pahlavi and Persian word Gustahm, survived from the parent language of the Avestâ. These two names appearing in the Vedas uttered by Aus'ij (Av. Uçikhs) in disparagement of a manifestly Noderyân warrior, confirm our belief that these two persons were contemporaries and were actually engaged in a momentous quarrel affecting life and death. Sâyanâchârya, the great Commentator of the Vedas, says that Ishtâs'va and Ishtaras'ma were two kings; but beyond this he gives no more information about them. No wonder that the great Commentator should know nothing about them, both being of a country beyond modern India and himself not knowing anything about the Avestâ.

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Again, we can trace the family of Mâna in the *Rig*veda, of whom Zoroaster complains in his Gâthâs, as we have shown above. The hundred and eighty second hymn of the first Mandala of the Rigveda is composed by Agastya, one of the children of the Vedic *Rishi* Mâna. It is addressed to the twin gods As'vins, otherwise called Nâsatyâs. The Nâsatyâs (Avestâ Nâonghaithya) are denounced as demons in the Avestâ. But Agastya praises them as follows :—

तत्। वाम्। नरा। नासत्यौ। अनु। स्यात्। यत्। वाम्।
मानासः। उचथम्। अवोचन्।

"May this hymn please you, O brave Násatyâs, which the sons of Mâna have sung unto you....."

(*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 182, verse 8).

अस्मे इति। सा। वाम्। माध्वी। इति। रातिः। अस्तु।
स्तोमम्। हिनोतम्। मान्यस्य। कारोः।
अनु। यत्। वाम्। श्रवस्या। सुदानू। इति। सुऽदानू।
सुऽवीर्याय। चर्षणयः। मदन्ति॥

"With us may that your bounty be, O bearers of Sweetness! Love you the hymn of the poet Mânya. For people exhilarate you, O most bounteous ones, with the desire of food and for Great strength." (*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 184, verse 4.)

एषः। वाम्। स्तोमः। अश्विनौ। अकारि। मानेभिः।
मघऽवाना। सुऽवृक्ति।
यातम्। वर्तिः। तनयाय। त्मने। च। अगस्त्ये।
नासत्या। मदन्ता॥

"This hymn composed with care is sung unto you, O bounteous As'vins, by the sons of Mâna. Come home unto us for our childeren's and for our own sake, delighting yourselves in the house of Agastya, O Nâsatyas."

(*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 184, verse 5).

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In the 170th hymn of the first Mandala of the *Rig*veda which is composed by the abovementioned Kakshivân and is addressed to the As'vins, the *Rishi* says:—

सूनोः। मानेन। अश्विना। गृणाना। वाजम्। विभाय।
भुरणा। रदन्ता।
अगस्त्ये। ब्रह्मणा। वावृधाना। सम्। विश्पलाम्।
नासत्या। अरिणीतम् ॥

"O As'vins, praised by Mâna (through the song) of (his) son, (and) (thus) giving food, O supporters, to (that) sage, (and) delighted with Agastya, through his worship, you, O Nâsatyas, restored Vispalâ".

(*Rig*veda, Mandala I, hymn 117, verse 11).

Compare these and several other instances from the *Rig*veda wherein the *Rishi* Mâna is alluded to, with the following Gâthic words of Zoroaster who complains of the *Rishi* Mâna.

. . . . . .

"That Mâna mars the efficacy of holy words.....".

(Y. XXXII, 10).

"Let the debts of holiness be paid unto Thy Fire, but never, as long as I am able, to that of (the poet) Mânya".

(Y. XLIII, 9).

This comparison leads us to infer that the Vedic *Rishi* Mâna must be the same person hated by Zoroaster in his Gâthâs.

In the Fravardin Yt. 105, where the Fravashi of Mãthravâka the son of Simuzhi is invoked, it is related that he smote down many of the Uçaghâs who opposed the religion of Ahu and Ratu (Yathâ-Ahû-Vairyô). Now these Uçaghâs, we might be sure, were none but the followers of Aus'ij, i. e., Kakshivân above-mentioned. As the Uçaghâs are denounced in the Avestâ, so the Sâimuzhis, that is the followers of

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Simuzhi, the father of Mâthravâka are, in the 18th verse of the 100th hymn of the first Mandala of the *Ri*gveda, denounced (under the name of Simyu) as thieves and robbers and mentioned as having been consequently killed by Indra. Here also the great Commentator Sâyanâchârya failing to recognize the Simyus as human beings, supposes them to be giants and evil spirits. But by the light of the Avestâ we are now able to discover that the Simyus were Irânians, the followers of Simuzhi, whose son Mâthravâka fought against Uçaghâs, i. e., the followers of Aus'ij, i. e., Kakshivân.

Again the river Vîtanguhaiti mentioned in the Avestâ as noticed above reminds us of the *Vitasvat* or *Vitastâ*, one of the five rivers mentioned in the Vedas, and thence we infer that the smiting of innumerable Daeva-worshippers by the Irânian hero Viçtauru must have taken place on the banks of one of the sacred rivers of the Vedas; for as yet the name of the river Vîtanguhaiti has not been identified with that of any of the modern Irânian rivers.

From all that has been shown above on the authority of the Avestâ and the *Ri*gveda, the inference is irresistible that certain persons in the Avestâ, viz., Vîshtâçpa, Zairivairi and others, and certain other persons in the *Ri*gveda, viz., *Ri*jrâs'va, Aus'ij, and others were contemporaries and were engaged against one another in a fierce quarrel originated mostly by religious differences and political ambitions, and that also all of them were contemporaries of Zoroaster. Now it is an established fact that the hymns of the *Ri*gveda were composed thousands of years* anterior to the date which tradition assigns to Zoroaster, viz., three hundred years before Alexander the Great. We can, therefore, safely conclude that Zoroaster flourished at a time far earlier than the date assigned to him by the later Pahlavi writers.

Bombay, 5th May 1899.

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* See "Orion" by Bal Gangadhur Tilak; "Aitareya Brahmaṇam" by M. Haug, Vol. I, pages 28, 42, 48, 52; and other standard works.

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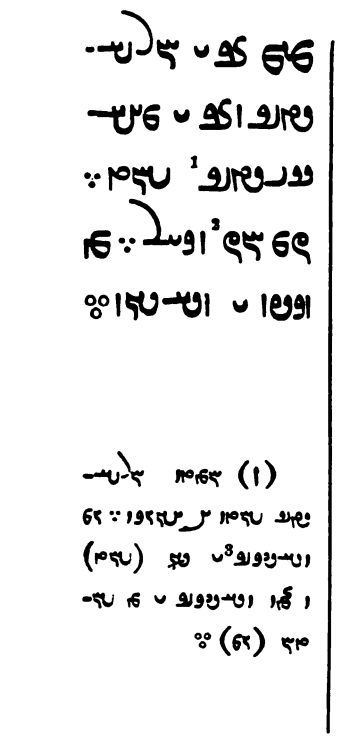
PÂZEND AND ENGLISH VERSIONS OF A CHAPTER OF THE PAHLAVI DÎNKARD, RELATING TO THE SOLAR AND LUNI-SOLAR YEARS IN THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

(By Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha.)

The chapter translated below is copied from the original text of the Pahlavi Dînkard, written in 1659 A. D. and brought from Persia by Moolla Bahman the son of Mobed Behram of Yezd in the year 1783 A. D., and which is at present preserved in the Moolla Feroze Library of Bombay. It was for the first time noticed by the late Dustoor Edalji Dârâbji Sanjânâ of Bombay in his book called "Khoreh Vahijak" published in 1828 A. D. Latterly during the last thirty five years Parsi Scholars of Irânian languages, Mr. K. R. Cama and others, have repeatedly tried to make a correct rendering of this chapter. The following is the latest effort in this direction which I beg to offer here in the hope that it may be of some help to my co-religionists in the researches which are at present being carried on in Bombay for ascertaining the correct religious calendar of the Parsis. My English translation is very close and consequently in some places it might seem a little uncouth to the general reader. But my object in making it so is to stick to the original text as much as possible.

[*Note.*—In Pahlavi and Pâzend ׃ is inserted for (,), ׃׃ for (;), and ׃׃׃ for (.).]

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ON THE SOLAR AND THE.....LUNAR (?) YEARS,—HOW (THEIR) PERIODS, AND USES?—ACCORDING TO THE EXPOSITION OF THE GOOD RELIGION.

(1) That is:—The Solar year *is* of two ways—"*Days-intercalating*[2]*-in-(every year)*" and "*Hours-intercalating (in the day-form) from-(several)-years.*"

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1. The word 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎 (or 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬎 ?) has not yet been deciphered satisfactorily.

2. 𐬀𐬎𐬌 (Aodh) = Sanskrit अवधि, "duration, period". This decipherment is correct and the meaning appropriate. Cf. 𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬎 (A-vadhirashnik) imperishable, etc., where 𐬌 is *dh*.

3. 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬹𐬀𐬉𐬀. I read this word 'vishêpakik'. Vi = Sanskrit वि= apart, and क्षेपक addition; hence "to be separately added, to be intercalated". The word can also be compared with Sanskrit विषुव or विषुवत् equinox, and may be translated "to be made to fall on the equinox, to be intercalated", the principal object of intercalation being to make the year begin at the vernal equinox. The words 𐬀𐬎𐬵 and 𐬎𐬀 have by inadvertence been omitted in the original copy. They are restored here as well as in the fifth paragraph on the authority of the second and the seventh paragraphs where they are rightly written.

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(2) "*Days-intercalating-in-(every)-year*" is that (solar year) of 12 months; each month 30 days, and 5 days of excess which arises in the twelve months' movement of the sun through the Zodiacal signs; altogether 365 days.

(3) As the five days are made up of (unequal) portions of time[4] in the (solar zodiacal unequal) months of the year, they are placed to (after) the last month of the year.

(4) (The solar year called) "the *days-intercalating-in-(every)-year*" is also called the "Calculatory" (Civil); for it is kept in the computation of the multitude.

4. The difference between ১৫ and ১৬. ১৫ = a portion of time of whatever length. ১৬ = an hour.

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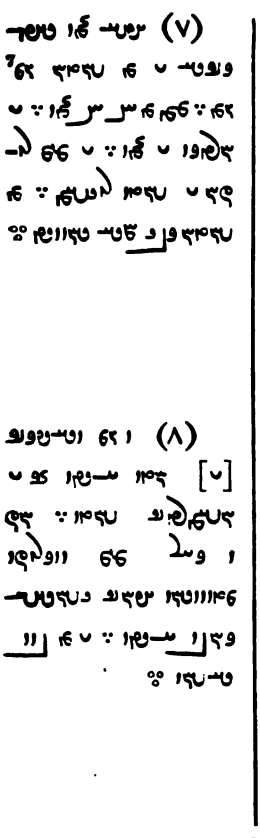
(5) "*Hours-intercalating-(in the day-form)-from (several) years*" is that (solar year) which (is so called) owing to the six hours, (made up) of fractions of hours, which accumulate from year to year at the end of 365 days.

(6) By deferring (their addition), they (the hours) may amount to one day in four years; ten days in forty years, (at the rate of) a quarter of a day per year[5]; one month in 120 years; five months in 600 years; one year[6] in 1440 years.

5. ربع, I take the first word in this phrase to be a logogram as an abbreviation for "one fourth," which is not here inappropriate. ربع = یک and ربع = Ar. ربع.

6 Correctly speaking 12 months of 30 days each, i. e., altogether 360 days. (Translator).

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(7) (The reason of calling it) "*Hours-intercalating-from-years (in the shape of) a day, (or days)*[7] is this that it (intercalates) the collection, accumulated from several years, of those six hours, (made up) of the fractions of hours, on the days at the end of the year.

(8) "*Days-intercalating*" (solar year), which is itself the Calculatory (civil) year, has from the creation's beginning[8] (its) duration and use on (i. e., fixed for) the New Year's Day, the Mihrangân, and other ancient festivals.

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7. The addition of intercalary hours must be made in the day form and not in the fraction of a day. This is clear from the very name of this kind of year which is ꝺɾ ꝑꝺꝺꝺꝺ ɾ ꝺ ꝺꝺꝺꝺꝺ ꝺꝺꝺ. Moreover the last word ꝺɾ is very important; for it shows that there is no necessity of waiting till the aggregate of hours would reach to a full month of thirty days. Had it been so, we should have had here the word ꝺꝺꝺ (month) and not ꝺɾ (day). In the first and fifth paragraphs, this word ꝺɾ, omitted by the inadvertence of the copyist, has been on the strength of this reading restored.

8. By *Creation's beginning* is meant the time when according to Zoroastrian traditions recorded in the Bundahesh and other writings, Ahriman began to spoil the faultless material creations of Ahurmazd on a day of Vernal Equinox, thus causing unwittingly the revolutions of the heavenly bodies as seen by us. (Translator).

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(9) The newness of its first day (i.e., its first day to be the New Year's day) has been fixed by the Kayânians, and as the multitude are accustomed to stand firm on this New Year's day (i. e., not to change it) and (as) its glory (i. e., the time-honoured sanctity of its festivals &c.) has prevailed in the whole country through the ancient law, men take rest (i. e., observe them as holidays) and enjoy themselves on those (days).

(10) In eager expectation of getting leisure on those festivals, men diligently finish[9] their work and then (on those holidays) they take rest and enjoy themselves.

(11) If addition be made from that of

9. پیدا کند. We think this is a clerical error for پیدا کرد "having taken pains, i. e., having diligently finished".

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the time (i. e., if the accumulated hours be added within 365 days, or as the fraction of a day at any time), then its duration, which is (fixed) by the ancient law, may be relinquished, the stability (uniform observance of festivals &c.) of the multitude may become moveable (changing), and (consequently) men's facilities, enjoyments, and diligence in their work may be diminished.

(12) If it be rearranged according to the delay (i. e., the fractions of a day) fixed from the beginning (by Nature) (i. e., without waiting to get the amount of a day or days), many things profitable to sovereignty and the multitude, which are connected with these

festivals, may have to be left off, and they may approach to (i.e., result in) the slothfulness of men as regards diligence in work and promoting the prosperity of the world.[10]

(13) (Therefore) the renewal of years, months and days, which[11] are (as usually marked) in the calendar of Zodiacal signs; the counting of the years from the birth of men (i. e., their age); how many years of sovereigns from the beginning of creation past,[12] and the

10. That is to say, if the uniformity of 30 days of every month be gone, or if the religious festivals &c. be commenced not from the certain points of time as fixed in this easily counted solar year but from uncertain points such as morning, noon, night and so on, people would lose the usual facility and would perpetually feel inconvenience. (Translator.)

11. We take the ווא for Pâzend ווא or ווא and read the whole ווא = نوي كه "Newness which, renewal which".

12. The word אוסדד is a corrupt form of אוסדד (Anjafta) = אוסדד (anjâmîda) "past". Compare Pâzend אוסדד = אוסדד "to blow". If we read the word אוסדד = Persian بخنجيده 'drawn out', then, too, it may give this meaning.

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period of time on food in the hands of the multitude which men give and take[13] among themselves; (all) which is judicially connected with the Calculatory (Civil) Year, should not be disarranged from their places, and the subject people[14] should not be made irritated.

(14) If the Calculatory (Civil) Year which is among men be intercalated by (adding) time (i. e., within 365 days, or as the fraction of a day at any time), a good deal of the conducting of the affairs of the world would be placed into disorder.[15]

(15) The period and the high use of

13. What transaction is spoken of here is not clear. (Translator).

14. పేరము (pêtaram) = Persian بادرم = مردم رعيت = the subject people.

15. శెఫ్‌ఫెడ్ (Shepfhed). Compare Persian شيفقم شدن "to be disorderly".

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the hours to be intercalated, which from year to year amount out of (several) years to many, are estimated from day (i. e., in day form) with the seasons which are yearly four.

(16) The beginning season of the year is spring.

(17) When the sun arrives at the first degree of Aries which is the.....

(18) It lasts for three months.

(19) When the sun passes through the constellations of Aries, Taurus and Gemini.

(20) The second season is the summer.

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(21) When the sun arrives at the first degree of the constellation Cancer which is the.....

(22) It lasts for three months.

(23) When the sun passes through the constellations of Cancer, Leo and Virgo.

(24) The third is the autumn.

(25) When the sun arrives at the first degree of Libra which is the.....

(26) It lasts for three months.

(27) When the sun passes through the constellations of Libra, Scorpio and Sagittarius.

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(28) The fourth and the last is the winter.

(29) When the sun arrives at the first degree of Capricornus, also called the second Taurus.

(30) It lasts for three months.

(31) When the sun passes through the constellations of Capricornus, Aquarius and Pisces.

(32) As these four seasons of the year are bound to the motion of the sun (i. e., depend on the motion of the sun) through the Zodiacal signs, by the collection of hours at the end of each year (of 365 days) much delayed time in (the lapse of) years would reach (i. e., accumulate) to days, and days to months, and

months to years, and years to large "Barînâs," (?) and therefore, the seasons may have to be relinquished.

(33) With the relinquishment of seasons, what is connected with that (year) of the nature of the four seasons, such as the sprouting, growing, blooming, ripening, and harvesting of grains and plants, tithes[16] of men, the revenue circuits[17] of officials among the subjects, the changes of summer and winter winds, the steering in the seas which is estimated according to winds (which blow at certain places in certain seasons in particular directions) and *the works*

16. ده‌ی (Dah-ê-ch), Compare Persian یک‌ده‌یک = $\frac{1}{10}$ "tithe."

17. دستور This word is uncertain. Elsewhere it occurs in the sense of a tour, a journey undertaken on government business, hence something like a revenue circuit or assizes. (?)

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of the kind of religion enjoined as duties, would be left off[18] *from their appropriate times by the Calculatory (Civil Year) of the multitude.*

(34) (Therefore) the "Hamkârs" (the co-working priests) should (even) by the royal command (if necessary) re-establish it (i.e., the Civil Year) towards (the year of) the kind of seasons, (i. e., make up the arrear of the time by intercalation and thus bring back every month to its proper season) and should again calculate it (bring it back) towards the (time of) the approach of plants (i.e.,

18. (hamgâm vidâshta) for (hangâm vitâshta) = Persian هنگام گذاشتن.

19. (yadman dâtîk). Compare Persian دست دادن to help.

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so as to make the particular plants of particular seasons accessible in their particular settled months) so as to make it helpful[19] to men.

(35) *Day-intercalation* must not be done till a month becomes ended (i.e., no intercalation should be made within any month).

(36) Nor must it be delayed more than five months, (this) is the injunction of the Good Religion.

(37) What is (usually) marked on days, months, and years, is this same "Andar-Galak"(i.e., Intercalation).[20]

20. 𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬭 𐬒𐬀𐬤𐬀𐬒 (andar galak). This word is exactly Latin *intercalo* (Sanskrit अन्तर्+काल ?) = *intercalation*. Similarly we find in Pahlavi, Pâzend and Persian 𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬭 𐬒𐬀𐬤𐬀𐬒 = اندرگاه the five intercalary days, the Gâthâs.

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(38) The Lunar... year is on account of the moon's motion with the sun.

(39) That (viz. the solar year of 365 days) which holds over (the six hours) lags behind it (viz., the Lunar.....year) about ten hours of a day every month.

(40) By reserving them (viz., the ten hours per month) for a year (i. e., 12 months) they amount to 120 hours, which is five days; and there are five days of the Gâthâs; (althogether) ten days; in three years one month; and in thirty six years they amount to one year.[21]

(41) It (viz., the Lunar.....year) is more particularly used in.....,..... and.....[22]

21. Correctly speaking 12 months of 30 days each. (Translator.)

22. What is meant by these three words is not known, but see Pahlavi Vendidad XVIII, 23. Spiegel. (Translator.)

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(42) The manifestation of its portion is in the profession of.....(?)

(43) The arrear intercalary (time) is marked on the canon of the Jews (?)

Bombay 5th May 1899.

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THE OSTRACISM OF THE ACHÆMENIDES FROM THE PAHLAVI WORKS AND THE SHÂH NAMEH.

(By Mr. Palanji Barjorji Desai).

Riddles on the Rocks.

The greatest of all the researches of the now fast dying century with reference to the history of the Achæmenian period was the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions on the palaces and hills of ancient Persia. Grotofend was the first scholar who succeeded in deciphering some of the names in these arrow-headed inscriptions, followed by Lassen and Henry Rawlinson, but for whose triumph in this direction the great Achæmenian dynasty would not have been known to the literary world as it has been during the present century. The Parsis are greatly indebted to these *savants* for the discovery of one of their ancient Persian monarchies.

It is not my intention to go into the details of the discovery of the cuneiform inscriptions, their language or the formation of the rules of its grammar. Suffice it to say, that this language of the inscriptions appears to have been corrupted from the ancient Avestâ language, the formation of words, &c., being nearly the same in both of them. (An attempt at comparison of both these languages has been made in my "History of the Achæmenides", pp. 33-50.) The arrow-headed letters appear to be a foreign innovation in Persia. The Achæmenian kings were not the first who introduced them in their country, because the Median kings before them had also their inscriptions written in the very same style. Before the time of the Median empire, Persia was a province under the dominant rule of Assyria, and the cuneiform inscriptions seem to have originated with the Assyrian kings. In Assyria, on the walls, on the bricks, on the earthenware materials, on the ivory, on the cornelia, and on the

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stones, arrow-headed writings have been found at the present day, which disclose many a hidden fact, historical as well as social and religious.

The Ostracism.

In the same way the cuneiform inscriptions in Persia have disclosed a fact of great historical value—a fact that was ignored by the great epic poet Firdusî, by the first Arab historian Tabari, and by the great Arabic scholar and chronologist Al-Bîrunî. But this great fact has been ignored not only by the Mahomedan writers; to our surprise we must admit that it has been equally ignored even by the Pahlavi writers before them, from whose works the Mahomedans copied. The great historical fact to which I refer is the discovery of the long-lost dynasty of the Achæmenian kings, who ruled in Persia, for a period of some 225 years, before the time of Alexander the Great. This long line of Persian kings had a great and glorious record before it, yet, strange to say, the Pahlavi authors have unanimously excluded the whole dynasty from their pages; they have not a word to say respecting them; they have no cause to remember their great doings; in short, they ignore their existence altogther. Why this ostracism, it is not easy to guess. Why this whole ruling race is erazed from the long line of Iranian kings, none can correctly surmise. It might be said that those kings were not Zoroastrians, that the people over whom they ruled was a non-Iranian nation, that notwithstanding the name of Ahura Mazda appearing in the inscriptions of the kings, no mention is there made of the Prophet, and that therefore the kings were not following the faith of Zoroaster. But these arguments can very easily be met with and refuted. If Achæmenians were not Zoroastrians or Aryans, who were the Parthians or the Ashkanians? They were non-Aryans, they were Turanians; they had no fixed faith from the very beginning of their long rule; they were more inclined towards the many gods of the Greeks than towards the monotheistic principle of their Iranian subjects. And yet we find the names of the Ashkanian kings, the duration of their reigns, and

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many more details about them in the works of the Pahlavi writers. The question then is, why were *they* not ostracised? Why were *they* not reckoned the enemies of the Aryan race, as they really were? Why were *they* not ignored from the books as the Achæmenians *were*?

The Reason.

But no. As Prof. Max Müller says, as the inscriptions themselves disclose, the religion of Zoroaster was the religion of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes, the three greatest monarchs of the inscription-period. There are short but very impressive sentences in a number of the inscriptions of kings Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes, in which they speak highly of Ahura Mazda, the God of Zoroaster, and ascribe all their achievements to that only God of the ancient Prophet. Again, Herodotus and other Greek writers tell us that the faith of the Achæmenides was the faith of ancient Iran; yet the Pahlavi writers ignore the existence of their whole dynasty! There is not a tittle of evidence in the Dinkard or the Bundahishn, the two great and authentic Pahlavi works, which can enable us to conclude why this long line of Parsi kings was struck out of the lists of Persian monarchs. The only supposition to which one could ultimately arrive at is, that the Pahlavi writers were quite ignorant of the very existence of the Achæmenian empire and its kings. Had they even an imperfect knowledge of them they would not have remained silent; they would most assuredly have mentioned them, and given the list of the kings together with the number of years they reigned; they would have tried, however imperfectly, to give their genealogy and every other particular about their religion, manners and customs. Had the Achæmenian kings been unjust or unkind towards their Iranian subjects, they might have been so described and we might have been presented with a second Zahâk or a second Afrâsiâb; and the pious and just and God-fearing kings among them might have been raised to the high position of another Jamshîd or Faridun, Kaikhusro or Gushtâsp. The Pahlavi works mention even

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Alexander, who was counted a great enemy of the Iranians, who destroyed all their sacred books and state libraries, and ruined the noble families and subdued their empire. Now the Achæmenian kings were not inimical to their subjects; they were Parsis themselves and ruled over the Parsi race. Yet there is no mention of them in the Parsi works written in the Pahlavi language. The reason appears to be the igorance of the latter writers about the Empire and the Emperors of the Achæmenian nation. Alexander burnt the palaces and libraries; there remained no valuable vestige, to remind the Parsis of the Sassanian period, of their real greatness during the Achæmenian period ; a long line of centuries intervened between the two ; five hundred and seventy-five years elapsed between the reigns of Darius Codomannus, the last king of the first empire, and Ardeshir Bâbakân, the first king of the second empire. Moreover another period of four hundred and twenty-five years passed away—the period of the Sassanian rule in Persia—during the latter part of which some portions of the Pahlavi works such as the Dînkard and the Bundahishn were compiled, the latter portions of which were added long after the death of Yazdjard III., the last of the Sassanian kings.

Unearthed at Last.

Thus then during a long spell of nearly one thousand years, in the absence of any evidence, the Pahlavi writers remained ignorant of the existence of their forefathers, their empire and their history, their great achievements and their great palaces, their rock inscriptions and their religion.

It would appear rather strange that a great nation like the Iranian remained ignorant of the glorious achievements of its forefathers for a number of centuries, although many neighbouring nations were cognisant not only of the existence of those great rulers, but actually came in contact with them, fought against them, and experienced good or evil from them. These neighbouring nations were the Jews and the Greeks, with whom the Iranians had great intercourse. The Jews and the Greeks

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have, in their histories, mentioned the names and the deeds of the Achæmenian monarchs, and yet the warlike but uninquisitive Iranian slept dormant over the history of a whole dynasty of his forefathers! He waxed eloquent over a small success gained over the enemy of Iran by a Rustam or a Barjo; but remained silent about the fact of a vast empire extending from the Indus on the east to the Ionian Islands on the west, and from Europe on the north to the borders of Ethiopia in Africa on the south. This empire was greater than the much renowned Sassanian empire, and greater still than the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian empires. It was perhaps its destiny to be kept in the back-ground of the world's history and be unearthed at last through the cuneiform inscriptions.

Achievements of the Achæmenians.

It would not now be difficult for the reader to answer the question:—What do the cuneiform inscriptions disclose? Why, they disclose a great nation, a large empire, a line of glorious kings, who attempted to conquer the continent of India, nay, the states of Greece, Italy and Russia? A glorious line it was, which rightly boasts to have conquerors like Cyrus the Great, Darius Hystaspes, and the Great Xerxes. It was these conquerors who made the Achæmenian empire; who stopped the inroads of the Central Asian barbarians, the forefathers of the Goths and the Vandals; who subdued the Punjab, ancient Turan, Egypt and perhaps Scythia also; who punished the Ionian States, and the Athenians too for aiding and inciting the latter against their masters; who sent expeditions to navigate the Indus, and to subdue Greece and Italy; who built the world-renowned palaces at Persepolis, Murghâb and Susâ; and last but not the least, caused the cuneiform inscriptions to be cut in the rocks of Behistun and Naksh-i-Rustam. Out of all these great achievements one only remained and it was none other than the arrow-headed writings. To these writings belongs the credit of bringing out the long-forgotten empire and its emperors, its people and its palaces, once more into the land of the living.

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Had it not been for them, no one could have known what the Achæmenian Empire was like, and when its kings flourished. Had these writings not been in existence, Cyrus the Great would have still been identified with Kaikhûsro, Darius Hystâspes with Gushtâsp, and Xerxes with Isfendiâr of the Shâh Nâmeh.

The False Identity.

But Kaikhûsro, Gushtâsp and Isfendiâr belonged to a quite different dynasty, which flourished long before the time of the great builders of the Achæmenian empire. It was the Kayânian dynasty, mentioned in the ancient writings of the Avesta, wherein Gushtasp is the last king honourably mentioned, nay, distinguished as the great bulwark of the reformed religion of Zoroaster, because he furthered and bettered its cause in the neighbouring lands. There is no mention of the Prophet or his faith even in the inscriptions of Darius Hystâspes, which goes to show that Zoroaster did not flourish in the time of that great monarch. It is curious that attempts are being made at the close of the century, as they were at its beginning, to identify the Kayânian dynasty with the Achæmenian, and to place the time of Zoroaster in the sixth century before the Christian Era. The Roman writer Ammianus Marcellinus was the first who made such identification and it met with support from other writers. Although a doubt was raised as early as the time of Agathias against this view, Dr. Hyde, Sir John Malcolm and many others tried hard in the beginning of this century to foist the Achæmenian into the Kayânian Dynasty, identifying Gushtâsp with Darius Hystâspes, and placing the time of Zoroaster not more than six centuries before Christ.

Two Different Houses.

But the cuneifrom inscriptions have disclosed that Darius Hystâspes was not the same as king Gushtâsp or Vishtâspa, that the Achæmenian was quite a distinct family from the Kayânian and that there was a gap of a large number of years between the two dynasties. The Parsis were known by

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this national name during the time of Darius, and Darius himself says in many of his rock-inscriptions that he was a Parsi. But in the Avesta, in the Gathas, the Parsis are not mentioned; there were no people existing then who were known by that name. From this also it follows that Darius the Parsi was not Gushtâsp the bulwark of the new Iranian Religion, in whose time Zoroaster flourished, and who was converted into the new faith by the prophet himself.

The Inscriptions.

There are about fifty inscriptions, large and small, some engraved in the rocks, and others in the palaces. The larger number and the greater bulk are on the Behistun (Bagistan), where are found the great inscriptions of Darius, in which he relates the story of his own career as a great conqueror of rebel kings and chieftains of Persia. A few inscriptions of Cyrus the Great are also to be met with, but they are as simple as few. In his inscriptions Darius gives his own genealogy thus: "I, Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of Perses and the provinces, son of Vishtâsp, grandson of Arsham, the Achæmenian.

"King Darius says, 'My father's name was Vishtâsp, Vishtâsp's father was Arsham, Arsham's father was Aryaraman, Aryaraman's father was Chispaish, and his father was Hakhamanish.

"'For this reason we are called the Achæmenian; we have come down from a very remote antiquity; from the ancient times our family is a royal one.

"'Before me eight kings have flourished who were of my family; I am the ninth one.'"

The Line of the Achæmenian Kings.

The first of these eight kings was the patriarch of the family, from whose name the dynasty was called Achæmenian. He was a petty king of his own small state of Perses, after whom

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reigned four kings before Cyrus the Great, who were all mere tributaries to the kings of Media. Their names were :—

	According to the Inscriptions.	According to the Greeks.
1.	Hakhamanish.	Achæmenes.
2.	Chispaish.	Ctespes.
3.	Kabujiya.	Cambyses I.
4.	Kurush.	Cyrus I.
5.	Kabujiya.	Cambyses II.

After the fifth monarch came Cyrus II or the Great, who subjugated the Median empire and made Media a province of his own dominions. The Achæmenians began to reign from 658 B. C., and a century after, i. e., in B. C. 558, Cyrus the Great conquered Media. From Cyrus the line of the Parsi Kings continued thus :—

6.	Kurush.	Cyrus the Great
7.	Kabujiya.	Cambyses III.
8.	Bardiya.	Smerdes (the Magi).
9.	Dârayawûsh.	Darius Hystaspes.
10.	Khshayârshâ.	Xerxes.
11.	Artakhshatra.	Artaxerxes (Longimanus.)
12.	Dârayawûsh.	Darius II. (Nothus).
13.	Artakhshatra.	Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon).
14.	Dârayawûsh.	Darius III. (Ochus).
15.	Arsh.	Arses.
16.	Dârayawûsh.	Darius IV. (Codomannus).

The so-called Successors of Gushtasp.

It seems that almost all the above named kings, from Cyrus downwards, had their inscriptions. Only a small number of these inscriptions have remained till now. There exist inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes (Longimanus), and Artaxerxes II., son of Darius Nothus, the last-named giving his own genealogy on a column belonging to the ruined palace of Darius Hystaspes at Susa. I do not intend to give here

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the existing inscriptions or to criticize them ; nor do I wish to enter into the history of any of the kings abovementioned. What I intend to do is to point out one or two important points, which tend to show how Persian History was falsified, first by the abortive attempt of the Roman writer Ammianus Marcellinus, who tried hard to identify Darius Hystaspes, the Achæmenian, with King Gushtâsp, the Kayânian, and then by the Pahlavi works, such as the Bundahishn &c., which led the literary world into an error by placing the age of some of the Achæmenian monarchs from Artakhshatra (Artaxerxes Longimanus), the son of Xerxes the Great, to Darius Codomannus (the last of the Achæmenian monarchs), after that of Kai Gushtâsp the great Kayânian king, and by introducing them all into that very ancient Priest-King family—the Kava or Kavâ.

What happened in Irân after Gushtâsp, or rather after the death of the prophet Zoroaster, history does not relate. According to some classic writers, in the time of king Hukhshathra (Oxarthes) the Assyrians conquered Irân and made it a tributary to their own empire. Forgetful of this event, or rather not wishing to show that the Iranian nation was ever subject to a conquering nation such as the Assyrian or the Median, the Pahlavi writers have succeeded in their attempt to palm off some of the last kings of the Achæmenian house mentioned above, as the last Kayânian monarchs, the successors of King Gushtâsp. The Shâh Nâmeh or the Book of Kings, followed in the wake of the Pahlavi works, and thus Firdusi and all the Mahomedan authors have placed the last Hakhâmani kings after Gushtâsp, and thus completed the list of the Kayânian kings. Ammianus Marcellinus has tried to show that Darius Hystaspes and Gushtâsp were one and the same kings ; and he too possibly received his information from the Pahlavi books.

But the cuneiform inscriptions have disclosed that such was not the case. Gushtâsp had a prince named Isfendiar, the Spento-dâta of the Avesta, who was killed in the life time of

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his father. If Gushtâsp was Darius Hystaspes, how can the Pahlavi works reconcile the fact of Xerxes' long reign after his father? He was not dead during the life-time of Darius. The Pahlavi works mention Vohumano as the successor of king Gushtâsp, and give Artashatr as his other name. There is no king mentioned by the name of Vohumano in the Avesta literature, and we do not know whence this name was derived by the Pahlavi authors. But the real name of the king appears to be Artashatr, which is the corrupted form of the cuneiform name Artakhshatra, the name of the son of Xerxes, who came to the throne after his father. In fact there is no king mentioned in the Avesta after Gushtâsp, and therefore, grafting the last branches of the Achæmenian dynasty on the tree of the Kayânian House, the Bundahishn and other works have, perhaps unwittingly, made such a muddle in Iranian history that, had it not been for the monuments on the rocks, the world could not have known upto the present time the real historical facts.

What do the Inscriptions Disclose?

By intermingling the names of the kings of the two different families, these writers have committed the gross mistake of reckoning the years from the ministry of the Prophet to the destruction of the Religion by Alexander. They say Gushtâsp lived for 90 years after the Prophet, and reigned 30 years before his ministry; Vohuman reigned for 112 years, and his daughter Humai for 30 years; the period of the reigns of her son Darai and grandson Dara was 26 years, and the sovereignty of Alexander lasted 14 years. Thus a round sum of 300 years has been curiously made up, as the duration of the Religion in its purity in Persia until its destruction. No doubt this way of reckoning sorely perplexed scholars and *savants*, until the cuneiform inscriptions revealed the true state of things in an indirect but convincing way, that the kings from Vohuman to Dara belonged to the long forgotten dynasty of the Hakhâmanians, and not to the Kayânians.

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But the rock-inscriptions have further disclosed one or two more important particulars and they are not less interesting. They disclose, first, a whole dynasty of Persian monarchs, who reigned before the Christian Era from 658 to 329. Secondly, they disclose that the Kayânian and the Achæmenian were two distinct reigning families of ancient Irân, and there was a wide gap between the times of the two dynasties, and that they reigned in different parts of the country. Thirdly, they teach us that the time of Darius Hystaspes was not the time of the ministry of Zoroaster, and that therefore the Prophet did not flourish so late as the 6th century B. C.

Antiquity of the Avesta.

Now the inscriptions are very helpful in proving the antiquity of the Avesta language. In the beginning of this century there were learned men, like Bishop Prideaux and others, who were of opinion that the Avesta was not a real or ancient language, but only a concoction prepared by the Dasturs in India. The cuneiform inscriptions have placed before the astonished world a real language, the study of which has proved the similarity between the Avesta and the Achæmenian languages. The latter, from its corrupted forms and inaccurate grammar, proves the antiquity of the Avesta literature. There is a great difference between these two languages, and there must be, therefore, as much difference between the nations who used them. The Avesta was the language of Zoroaster and Gushtâsp, the cuneiform that of Darius and Xerxes. If one language is the out-come of the other, if one is more ancient than the other, there must certainly have elapsed as much time between the use of the one and the formation of the other as the time which elapsed between Gushtâsp and Darius. And this period must be estimated at some hundreds of years ; but it can not be only 300 years, as the the Pahlavi writers have inaccurately announced. The Avesta was the language of the Eastern Iran, the Achæmenian that of the Western Iran. Bulkh was the seat of Gushtâsp ; Persepolis was that of Darius.

Bombay, 3rd July 1899.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CRITIC OF THE AVESTA TEXT.

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Vend. III, 65=Westerg., Geldn. III, 20. Spiegel gives in his edition the reading 𐬉𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐 𐬀𐬌𐬙 which most MSS. have. We also find it now with Geldner and with Kanga in his dictionary, while Westergaard reads 𐬉𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬙, and evidently derives the word, like Justi, from *mâ* + *upa*. J. Darmesteter likewise reads thus, but he separates *upa mitîm*, and in the Sacred Books of the East Vol. IV (2nd edition) p. 28, he translates: "in his enclosure", Zend-Avesta II, p. 39: "dans sa retraite." I believe that 𐬉𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬙 is the only correct reading and I derive the word from the verb *upa-man* = Greek *ὑπομένειν*, to remain, to await. In this signification 𐬀𐬌𐬙 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐 is to be found, besides the substantive 𐬉𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬐𐬙 in the passages: Vd. V, 154, 155, 157, 158; VII, 169, 170 *Spieg.* = V, 53, 54, 55, 56 Westerg., Geldn. This radix *man*, to remain, to await, which we find in Greek and Latin, exists, I believe, likewise in Erânian, not only in the Avesta, but undoubtedly also in the Ancient Persian cuneiform inscriptions. In the great Behistun inscription of Darius we read II, 48: Dâdarshish.....mâm amânaya, Dâdarshish awaited me, and thus in II, 63, where Vaumisa is the subject. Spiegel, who, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift fûr vergleichende Sprach-forschung Vol. XXI, pp. 188-190, treats of the different significations of this radix *man*, says that the existence of a verb *upa-man*, to measure, to hope, is probable on account of the Neo-Persian اُمّید, *ummêd*, hope, a word, which may have its origin from *upa-miti*, but I believe with Hubschmann (Persische Studien, Strassburg 1895, p. 18), that the Ancient-Persian primitive form *ava-maiti* is to be supposed instead. The Pahlavi Version seems likewise to make

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probable, that the radix *man*, to remain is in *upa-maiti*. For the word is rendered by 𐭯𐭥𐭲𐭭, which I found only a second time in the Pahlavi Version of Yasna 48,2 ed. Spiegel.

Vend. III, 79 Spieg.=Westerg., Geldn. III, 24. Both editions have 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌. As the MSS. give 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 (Mf. 2), 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎 and 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬎. LASSEN may perhaps have been right in conjecturing 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌.

Vend. III, 81 Spieg.=Westerg., Geldn. III, 24. SPIEGEL and GELDNER read 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀, while WESTERGAARD has admitted 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀 into his text. This reading, which WESTERGAARD formerly gave as a dubious one seems preferable to me. It is likewise adopted by DARMESTETER and KANGA. This word is put parallel further on, following 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀. Vend. II, 63, 99 Sp. = W., G. II, 25, 33, we find 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬉𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌. We are allowed to compare these two passages with the above mentioned one, because the Pahlavi Version renders the word alike in all the three passages.

Vend. III, 112 Spieg. = Westerg., Geldn. III, 33. SPIEGEL and GELDNER give 𐬉𐬀𐬵. The Neo-Persian زان induces me to prefer this reading to the 𐬉𐬀𐬵𐬵 of WESTERGAARD and KANGA.

Vend. III, 115 Spieg. = III, 33 Westerg., Geldn. 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬵 is the reading of almost all the MSS. which SPIEGEL and GELDNER have admitted. WESTERGAARD and KANGA read 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬵. The plural form 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬵 agreeing with the collective noun 𐬉𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀 seems to me very adequate.

Vend. III, 140 Spieg. = III, 40 Westerg., Geldn. I prefer 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 which is to be taken in the passive sense and which is SPIEGEL'S and GELDNER'S to WESTERGAARD'S reading 𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌, and believe this to be the only correct reading, although it is the only passive form derived from the radix 𐬉𐬵𐬌.

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Vend. IV, 57 Spieg. = IV, 17 Westerg., Geldn. The accusative 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 which SPIEGEL, JUSTI, GELDNER and KANGA approve is indeed surprising with respect to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, and this is certainly the reason for WESTERGAARD'S prefering 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎, but it agrees so much the better with the Neo-Persian usage of words. Cf. VULLERS, Institutiones linguae Persicae § 328.

Vend. IV, 60, 61, 62; 75, 81 Spieg. = IV, 18, 23, 27 Westerg., Geldn. In these passages which SPIEGEL has treated already in his grammar of the Old-Bactrian language p. 286, the point in question is first a disagreement between the MSS. with the translation and the Venîdâd-sâde. These give IV, 60, 61, 62 the reading 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 accepted by WESTERGAARD and GELDNER, while the MSS. with translation have 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎, 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 or a similar error, but neither 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 nor 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎. Furthermore in the quoted §§ the verb 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 is wanting in the Vendîdâd-sâde, while the MSS. with translation more frequently add than omit it. If we read with the Vendîdâd-sâde 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎, we are obliged to suppose that the numbers under thirty require for the enumerated things the same case in which they themselves stand—in this passage the accusative—and that the genitive must be applied only with the numbers from thirty upwards. This may be possible, but then the rule cannot be an absolute one, for in Vend. VIII, 270 Spieg. = VIII, 96 Westerg., Geldn., we find 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 constructed with the genitive 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎. But the whole matter appears dubious to me on account of the word 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 being omitted, for there is no reason why the word should be wanting especially with the minor numbers. I am therefore inclined to read also in these passages 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 and to regard the reading of the Vendîdâd-sâde as a mistake.

Vend. IV, 129 Spieg. = IV, 46 Westerg., Geldn. Certainly 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 is the correct reading, and not 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎, which

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SPIEGEL has adopted. The Pahlavi-version, rendering the word by اوباشتن gives considerable weight to this reading.

Vend. IV, 147 Spieg. = IV, 51 Westerg., Geldn. I believe ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰꬱꬰ· which SPIEGEL and GELDNER give, to be the correct reading. WESTERGAARD and KANGA approve ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· but the first reading is supported by the Neo-Persian انپاشتن, انباشتن = اوباشتن.

Vend. V, 62 Spieg. = V. 20 Westerg., Geldn. The metre requires to read ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· as WESTERGAARD and GELDNER do, while SPIEGEL omits ·ꬱꬰ·. The Pahlavi Version confirms this reading of Westergaard and Geldner, as it renders the word by اوباشتن.

Vend. VI, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 Spieg. = VI, 1—4 Westerg., Geldn. WESTERGAARD, GELDNER and KANGA follow the reading of the MSS with translation and give ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·. The Vendidâd-sâde reads in these passages ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·; SPIEGEL has adopted this and it is doubtful which of these two readings is correct. Neither of the two forms is regular, one should certainly expect ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· or ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·. Only after the omission of the vowel ـ of the termination ·ꬱꬰ·, ـ is changed to ا. This ا is no secure proof of the 4th class, we find also in Vend. V, 57 Spieg. = V, 19 Westerg., Geldn. ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·, where the ا must have originated by the influence of the preceding ر. Besides ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· Yt. XIII, 10. Cf. Vend. VI, 54 Spieg. = VI, 26 Westerg. Geldn., where SPIEGEL, GELDNER and KANGA read ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·, WESTERGAARD according to K_1 ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·, other MSS. have ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·; in other passages, viz., Yt. VI, 2; Yt. X, 20 we find only the participle forms ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· and ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·. In the same way respectively in the MSS., viz., Vend. XV, 5 Spieg. = XV, 2 Westerg., Geldn. ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·, ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ· and ·ꬱꬰꬱꬰ·, and similar forms.

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What in our passage seems to speak most for the reading 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 is the form 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, which is to be found Y. XXIII, 2 Spieg. = XXIII, 1 Westerg., Geldn. and Yt. XIII, 11, 22 in *all* the MSS.

Vend. VI, 59 Spieg. = VI, 27 Westerg., Geldn. Spiegel's edition has 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 which is a mere erratum for the correct 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎. In the same para Westergaard, Geldner and Kanga read 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, instead of 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, which is approved by Spiegel and Justi. I cannot quite agree with the reading 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 at first adopted by Westergaard, because according to the syntactical rule one ought to expect 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎.

Vend. VI, 64 Spieg. = VI, 29 Westerg., Geldn. There is 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 in Westergaard's edition, which no other MS. has. This is certainly an erratum for 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, which Spiegel gives. Why should Geldner in this passage have given 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 into his text, while in Vend. VI, 7, 8 he reads 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, I do not understand. The same inconsistency we find Vend. VI, 102 Spieg. = VI, 50 Westerg., Geldn. Here Westergaard as well as Geldner read 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, but in VIII, 74 (= VIII, 236 Spieg.) 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎. Spiegel has justly adopted the same reading 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 in both passages and Justi and Kanga have followed him. The Pahlavi-Version (ed. Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay 1895) reads 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 and separates like Spiegel *uz-dânem*.

Vend. VII, 2 Spiegel and Westergaard give 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎. But the use of the word as a preposition being quite uncommon, I have no doubt that Geldner is right in giving into his text 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 on the authority of several Manuscripts.

Vend. VII, 134, 135 Spieg. = VII, 52 Westerg., Geldn. Spiegel reads 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎 and 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎, while Wester-

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GAARD gives 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 and 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀, which is approved by JUSTI, GELDNER and KANGA. The Pahlavi Version which was formerly much neglected in Europe by the school of ROTH, but is more noticed recently, induces me to prefer the reading adopted by SPIEGEL. It renders the Avestic verb by 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀. We should have therefore before us the causativum of 𐬵𐬀𐬭, to grow, to grow high, to be exalted. Whereas 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌 ought to be traced back as a denominativum to 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀, desire, wish, and this verbum denominativum is rendered by 'to bless, to felicitate,' a signification which it can hardly have. No doubt the causativum 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌 has the signification of 'to elevate, to exalt,' which was early transformed into 'to praise.' In the same way the Greeks used their '*aixein*' and the Romans their '*tollere*,' which both verbs have the fundamental signification of raising upwards. In the Hebrew poetry of the Old Testament the Polel of the radix רוּם, to be high, is used in the causative sense, viz., in the signification of 'to elevate,' 'to praise.' Psalm 30, 2 and 118, 28 it is said: אֱלֹהַי אֲרוֹמְמֶךָּ O Lord, I shall praise Thee, likewise Exod. XV, 2 in the victory-hymn of Israel. To elevate = to praise may thus have been a peculiarity of expression current in the Orient from very old times. In the same way as in our passage, I should prefer Y. LXIV, 43 Spieg. = LXV, 11 Westerg., Geldn. the reading 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬌.

Vend. VII, 137, 139, Spieg. = VII, 55, 56 Westerg., 53, 54 Geldn. Instead of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 as SPIEGEL gives in his edition, WESTERGAARD reads here and in all passages where the word occurs 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌. JUSTI and KANGA follow him, while GELDNER here differs from WESTERGAARD and reads like SPIEGEL. The reading adopted by SPIEGEL is contained § 137 in the most and § 139 at least in the best of the MSS. SPIEGEL has given his reasons for prefering the reading 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 in Kuhn's

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Zeitschrift fur vergleich. Sprachforschung Vol. XXIII, pp. 193—194. I believe he has succeeded to prove, that the Avestic 𐬎𐬀, 𐬎 is sometimes changed to the Indian ख्य; *e.g.*, Avestic 𐬵𐬎𐬀 = Skr. सख्या. In this way Avestic 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬴𐬎𐬀 may be connected with Skr. असंख्य. For particulars, vide SPIEGEL, Arische Studien, Leipzig 1874 p. 20, *Wilhelm*, Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists Vol. I, p. 534, J. Kirste, Wiener Zeitschrift fur Kunde des Morgenlandes Vol. XII, p. 266.

Visp. IX, 3 Spieg. = VIII, 1 Westerg., Geldn. SPIEGEL following WESTERGAARD reads 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬴𐬎𐬀 and I regret to say that he is not right. GELDNER, also seems to have committed the same mistake where not only in Visp. VIII, 1, but also in Yt. V, 54, 58, 117. VIII, 61. IX, 31. X, 43. XIII, 48 he approves the same reading.

Jena, June 20, 1899.

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THE HOLY SRAOSHA.

By Mr. N. D. Khandalavala, B.A., LL.B.

Next to the Ameshâspentas,—with Ahuramazda at their head,—the Yazâta Sraosha stands a most unique and prominent spiritual power in Mazdayasnian theology. In the very first chapter of the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ[1] Spitama Zarathushtra longs to see Sraosha. In the 43rd Chapter[2] of the Yasna, we find him again and again questioned by Sraosha who comes to him through Vohumano (the Good Mind). Zarathushtra answers him by saying that he would be an open opponent of the wicked, and a powerful joy-giver to the righteous ; and that as long as he had strength he would make the offering of holy prayer to the fire of Ahuramazda. He speaks of having become illumined through Sraosha with the teachings of Ahuramazda. Sraosha the wise and powerful, is to him as a friend who comes to him in immense splendour, telling him that even a single thought of perfect contentment, was the best of things. Sraosha is the wise lord[3] who goes to that man who is approved of by Ahuramazda.

Leaving the more sober references in the Gâthâs, when we take the elaborate descriptions of this Yazata in the later Avestâ, we find him described as the tall-formed druj-smiting, holy Sraosha, who makes the world increase ; who never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda ; who protects all the material world, with his uplifted club ; who never more did enjoy sleep from the time when the two spirits made the world ; who day and night fights with the Daevâs ; who is the teacher of the law having been taught the same by Mazda himself. Ahuramazda formed him to oppose the terrible Aesham Dev (the demon of wrath). He is the protector of the poor, and a des-

1 Y. 28, 6. 2 Y. 43, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14. 3 Y. 44, 16.

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troyer of the Druj. He first in the creation adored Ahuramazda with barsam spread. He returns victorious from all his battles, and sits among the Bountiful Immortals as companion at their meeting. He is a beautiful youth, most strong, persistent and energetic, striking terror into the hearts of the wicked. In that house in which Sraosha is most honoured and adored he brings peace and happiness. He drives away indolence, and calls men to duty from early morning. He was worshipped by Haoma on the highest heights of the Hara Berezaiti, where his home stands with its thousand pillars, self lighted from within, star studded from without. By his might and victorious power, his wise conduct and his knowledge, the Amesha Spentas descend upon this earth. He strides forth upon the earth as a teacher of the Law and his body is said to be the *Mâthra*, or the holy word. The angel Ashi Vanghuhi[1] is mentioned to be the daughter of Ahuramazda and of Spenta Armaiti, while Sraosha, Rashnu and Mithra are represented as her brothers.

According to the Mainyo-i-khirad Mithra, Rashnu, and Sraosha stand at the Chinvat Bridge to allow only those souls to pass on to the Best Life, whose merits outweigh their demerits. That is why immediately after the death of a Zoroastrian the ritual of Sraosha is recited for three days as he is supposed to be the helper of souls in crossing the bridge of judgment. When the end of the world will come, he will, it is said, fight along with Ahuramazda and the Amesha Spentas, to destroy the principal demons. The Bundahishn would have it that Ahuramazda will himself after the battle come to this world and perform the Yazishn ceremony, acting as the Zoti or chief priest, while Sraosha will act as Râspi or assistant. In the Ardâvirâf nâmeh Sraosha and Âdar are represented as conducting Virâf to Heaven and Hell and explaining to him the significance of the various sights he beheld there.

Almost all religions allude to Subordinate Spiritual Powers, and Zoroastrianism particularly in its later development mentions

1. Yt. 17, 2, 16.

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a number of Yazatas. These Yazatas are as much creations of Ahuramazda as ourselves, yet they have a definite place in maintaining the order and harmony of the Universe.

The *Manangh* or mentality in man shows itself in two different aspects, viz., the higher and the lower. The plane of our physical consciousness is the great battle ground of humanity where the Daevas and Drujas, the products of unruly, selfish, and narrow desires in man, loudly clamour for gratification, and almost always successfully contend against sober reason and intuition. The consciousness *(baodhangh)* of the lower mind is always trying to go outwards, and to reach towards something external to itself. It is worked up by impacts and stimuli from without. The consciousness of the higher mind has the characteristic of being self-contained. It draws itself inwards, and tries to shut out external and disturbing influences, and by slow degrees the power of abstract thought and the higher intellectual faculties are developed.

The yearning for a knowledge, of the origin, aim and progress of human life, its connection with the Divine Power, through which it came into being, the duties it has to perform in this world, and towards the Invisible Power that rules and guides it, is found deeply imbedded in the nature of man as a religious sentiment. When working upon the lower mental plane, it shows itself through the manifold forms in which religious emotionalism expresses itself. The poetic and legendary description of Sraosha in the later Avesta is an expression of a hidden truth in a somewhat emotional form. The lower mind in its hour of difficulty blindly asks for help from invisible powers praising and extolling their might to any extent.

The simple and suggestive wording of the references to Sraosha in the Gâthâs may very well be noted—"Thee O Mazda! I conceived, as the truly Bounteous, when he (Sraosha) came to me through Vohumano (the Good Mind)." Zarathushtra was through prayer, meditation, and holiness, seeking Divine illu-

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mination. His heart and mind were concentrated on Ahuramazda whose benefic power he understood and felt. In this state of ecstacy Sraosha appeared to him through Vohumano, being made visible to his higher mind. Says Jamblichus the Platonist—"There is a principle of the soul superior to all external nature, and through this principle, we are capable of participating the immortal life, and the energy of the sublime celestials. When the soul is elevated to natures above itself, it deserts the order to which it is awhile compelled, and by a religious affinity, is attracted to another and a loftier, with which it blends and mingles." Zarathushtra alludes to his vision of Sraosha as coming to him in immense splendour, and the writer of the later Yasna describes the Yazata as the tall formed beautiful youth who is most strong and energetic. This calls to mind the description of the Augeides, emerging from a column of light in a shape of unimaginable glory, its face like that of a man in its first youth, solemn with the tranquility of wisdom.

In the Avesta, Sraosha appears as a strongly marked spiritual individuality. The name is derived from the root *sru*, to hear, hence Sraosha is taken as meaning, one who hears the commands of Ahuramazda carrying them out faithfully and in dutiful obedience. Ahuramazda himself taught him the 'Daenâ' (religion) and he in his turn imparts it to the prophet. In this sense also he is the first listener of the Divine Revelation. He is the messenger between Ahuramazda and those who seek inspiration through the Good Mind. When the higher self of man is awakened and made active through meditation, the leading of a pure life and the strengthening of the will, this upper self rises to the plane of Sraosha, whence it derives higher knowledge, learns some of the celestial harmonies, and comes back spiritually strengthened. Next after the Ameshâspentas, come the descending hierarchies of spiritual Intelligences, that form the governing body of the *Khshathra* (kingdom) of Ahuramazda. Sraosha is one of these higher celestial Powers, that have to superintend the working out of the Divine law of recompense, retribution, and adjustment. In the Gâthâs it has been said—

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"Up to the final end of the creation, Thou O Mazda! According to Thy Justice, will give them recompense, for their deeds and words, dealing out evil to the evil, and good blessings to the pure." This law so tersely stated in its bare outline has innumerable and endless complications. The true working out of the law has in it unimaginable niceties, and Sraosha and his coadjutors are the appointed Divine agents for the incessant and unfailing adjustment of the mighty Law.

The *Shkyaothnanâm angheush*, or the actions of life, are the total of a soul, with its innumerable thoughts and deeds, making up at the end of its worldly existence an ethereal form derived from the collective essence of these deeds and thoughts. The inner man is a complex existence, and after death it has to pass through various states and transformations. Although each of us in reference to ourselves, our friends and relations may complacently believe that we can *at once* pass over the Chinvat bridge and stand in the presence of the Almighty, we must not fail to note our numerous shortcomings which will be so many hindrances to our safe passage over that perilous bridge.

Sraosha is said never to have slept peacefully since the two Spirits made the world of forms and limitations. This is because, finite intelligences, through the limited free-will which is vouchsafed to them, are every moment disturbing the harmony of nature. This discord and inharmony has to be gradually eliminated and adjusted, and that important work is not left to the whirlings of the blind atoms, as the materialist would have it, but has to be performed by the higher Spiritual Intelligences, who are the ceaseless Watchers and Guardians, whose continuous and unerring work represents towards the Divine law a devotion and obedience that men may devoutly and religiously imitate.

Sraosha is the protector of the poor, for it is not in a harsh and revengeful mood that recompenses are adjusted. Our thoughts and acts, however evil, have a relatively limited significance, Mazda having allowed us the possibility of almost un-

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limited progress. The influence of Sraosha is directed to strengthen in men thoughts of charity, friendliness, and contentment ; and that influence affords a powerful protection to the poor and distressed. Sraosha is the great opponent and conqueror of the Daevas and Drujas, and particularly of Aeshma, the demon of Wrath. He is a sublime and glorious power whose radiance and atmosphere have a wide embracing sweep, and the harmony and sweet influence which that energy sheds disperses all discord, passions, and evil desires, that come within its sphere of action.

Sraosha is also looked upon as representing the whole of religious worship. This religious service being believed to break the power of the Daevas, and as that also is one of the attributes of Sraosha, his influence was supposed to be mixed up with the performance of the ritual. The Yazishn in its present form however is a collection, that came into use long after the age of Zarathushtra, who is seen invoking Sraosha through his meditation and simple laudation. The firm and quiet convicton that relies on the goodness and power of Ahuramazda and his all-embracing justice is that intelligent faith which finds a response from Sraosha, a faith that leads to the awakening of the true religious life in man. The rapid advance of intellectuality at the present time, with its scepticism and scorn of higher sanctions, is scarcely conducive to religious advancement. The few hints in the Avesta however vaguely they may express the functions of a spiritual Power like the Yazata Sraosha have reference, nevertheless, to a real Angelic Existence that performs some of the most important duties in relation to the evolution of humanity.

The religious sentiment in man, the various emotions that guide it, the intelligent comprehension of that sentiment, its education and growth and the leading of a life in accordance with the highest sanctions of religion and morality are all as it were overshadowed by Sraosha. Sincere devotion to duty and to the attainment of a comparatively unselfish life, aided by meditation, puts men in communion to some extent with this

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Yazata. While the Supreme Ahuramazda—from whom all spiritual intelligences derive their power—is the one to whom our adoration is really due, Sraosha represents an ideal and a power towards whom our Higher Self may rise with comparatively less difficulty to learn the true meaning of religion.

Sincere and unostentatious work, quietly and persistently performed, has a far reaching effect, and those few who do it are the real helpers of humanity. Selfish and hypocritical motives, although successfully veiled before the world, cannot pass unchallenged by the spiritual watchers. Men do not become Daevas and Drujas merely because they do not follow a particular creed. If Sraosha is a destroyer of the really wicked, he also notes the unrighteousness amongst those who profess to follow the good religion. This Yazata can no more gloss over the delinquencies of the so called faithful, in adjusting the recompenses after the hour of death, than he can unmeritedly aggravate the torments of the wicked. He is the high and faithful servant of the Divine law of recompense; and those who hope to see in him a helper at the bridge of the gatherer must store beforehand the righteousness necessary to open for them the path to the Best Life. Men and Angels have to follow and respect alike the Divine Law of all encompassing Justice, which in its essence is the law of Divine Compassion.

Poona, 13th July 1899.

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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORDER OF THE PARSEE MONTHS AND THE BASIS OF THEIR NOMENCLATURE.

By Mr. Meherjibhai Nosherwanji Kuka M. A.

The names given to the Parsee months are the same as those given to some of the days of the month, but the order is different,—for instance, after 'Behman' comes 'Aspendârmad' and not 'Ardibehesht', after 'Ardibehesht' comes 'Khordâd', and not 'Shehrivar', and so on. This essay is an attempt towards explaining *why* this is so. For the information given below, regarding the Calendar of the Indo-Aryans of the Vedic period, I am indebted to the excellent book of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak on "Orion, or the Antiquity of the Vedas," some passages wherein, especially those regarding the Parsee Months 'Farvardin', 'Tir', and 'Dathusho' (*Dae*), have been of great help to me, as furnishing me with the starting point of my researches. Before proceeding with the Parsee months, it is necessary for me to give a brief outline of the Ancient Vedic year.

Among the Indo-Aryans great attention was paid to the Calendar even in very remote ages, (so far back as 4000 B.C. according to Mr. Tilak), for many of the sacrifices enjoined in their religion were based on the phenomena of the seasons and were regulated by them, so much so that "the sacrifice and the year seem to have early become synonymous terms."[1] This necessitated their calculating the length of the solar year with as much precision as they could, and led them to adopt for their religious calendar the sidereal year, that is the period after which the Sun returns to a particular position with reference to any fixed star. Not possessing, in such early times, a know-

[1] "Orion", p. 12.

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ledge of the Precession of the Equinoxes, it was but natural that the Aryans should have regarded the sidereal as the true tropical year, for the difference between the two is so minute—merely amounting to about twenty minutes annually—that no appreciable change in the seasons could have been noticed for several hundreds of years. The Iranians and the Hindus, living together in those early times, had necessarily many customs and observances in common, though they widely differed on religious points, and it may be presumed that a knowledge of the sidereal year was a heritage common to both. Whether the Iranians had lunar months like the Hindus, and, if so, at what period they adopted months of 30 days each with epagcmenæ of 5 days, are points on which definite information cannot be given. But at any rate they had different names for the months, and I am inclined to believe that these names, some of which have passed down to our own times, were given, and the positions of the months with regard to the seasons were fixed, more than six thousand years ago—at a time when the Sun, on the day of the Vernal Equinox, was near the constellation of Canis Major.[1] The principal star in this constellation, the bright Sirius, is the 'Teshtar' or 'Tishtriya' of the Avesta, and the constellation itself is represented by the Avesta word 'Tishtriyeni.'

Ancestor-worship was a prominent feature of the religion of the Aryans, and held an important place, as it does even now, in the sacrificial calendar of the Hindus as well as of the Iranians. Among the former, the part of the year sacred to Ancestor-worship had originally, (about 4000 B. C.) an intimate connection with the Summer Solstice; and the dark half of the month 'Bhâdrapad', which was then nearest the solstitial point, was fixed upon as the *Pitripaksha*, or the fortnight sacred to the *manes* of the ancestors.

With the above preliminary remarks I now take in hand the Parsee months.

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[1] See infra, p. 58, the passage regarding the month 'Tir.'

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Farvardin—As the name implies, this month was originally a month sacred to the 'Fravashis' or *Manes* of the ancestors, and its position must have been near the Summer Solstice just as was that of the corresponding Hindu month.

The point from which the Sun annually begins his retrograde motion towards the south had a strange fascination for all nations, for we know that with the Chaldeans, the Phœnicians, and the Syrians, the month sacred to the memory of the dead was the month 'Tammuz', which began with or somewhere near the Summer Solstice; and the Ancient Egyptians held the Festival of the Dead, the 'Uaguit', in the month Thot, which also had its commencement at the Summer Solstice. It is therefore highly probable that, with the Iranians too, the month sacred to the 'Fravashis' began with the Summer Solstice. It is true that in modern times the ten *Farvardegân* days, which are held to be specially dedicated to the commemoration of the 'Fravashis', do not fall in this month, but then it should be borne in mind that these *Farvardegân* days came into existence after the institution of the *Gâhânbâr* festivals, which were not known at the very early period spoken of above. These ten days resemble the "Dvâdashâha" or the "twelve days" of the Vedic Hindus, which were added to the lunar year of 354 days, to make it correspond with the solar one. Just as in the *Farvardegân* days, which are regarded as very holy by the Zoroastrians, the 'Farohars' or spiritual representatives of the deceased are believed to revisit the earth and take their abode in the houses of their descendants who invoke them, in like manner in the "Dvâdashâha" days, which were held by the Ancient Hindus to be the holiest of the whole year, "the gods were believed to descend from Heaven and to revisit the abodes of men."[a]

There is therefore every reason to believe that the month 'Fravashinâm' or 'Farvardin' was originally the month sacred to the memory of the dead, and had its beginning near the Summer Solstice, that is, it was the first month of the summer season.

[a] "Orion", p. 139.

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When the Iranians dwelt in their ancient home *Airyana-vaejo* two seasons only were recognised by them,—a summer of two months and a winter of ten[4]—; and as, according to the Avesta, the year ought to commence with the warm season, it might be assumed that 'Farvardin', in the age in which it was named, marked the beginning of the year. Later on when the Iranians shifted towards warmer latitudes, and recognised seven months of Summer and five of Winter[5], the warm season was regarded as commencing with the Vernal Equinox, and the beginning of the year must accordingly have been changed.

Having once fixed the position of 'Farvardin' in the year, we now take the other months, but it is not necessary to follow the order in which they occur. The months which mark the beginning of the four seasons will be taken first, as I seek to prove that the names of the months had correlation with the characteristic features of the different seasons.

Dathusho or Dae—This month was named after the Creator, and must have marked the beginning of Spring. Mr. Tilak observes: "Beginning with *Fravashinâm* in the Summer Solstice *Dathusho* begins exactly at the Vernal Equinox, and as marking the revival of nature it was properly dedicated to the Creator. Roth again was partially correct when he imagined that *Dathusho* must have once commenced the year, in as much as it was dedicated to the Creator Ahuramazda. For, from the old Hindu Calendar we see that the Vernal Equinox was also a beginning of the year. In the primitive Avesta Calendar we can thus discover the traces of the year beginning with the Vernal Equinox, and also from the Summer Solstice."[6]

Here it may be observed that while the first day of every month is named Ahuramazda, the month commencing with Spring does not bear this name, but has another qualitative name

[4] Vend. 1. 4. (Spiegel § 11).

[5] Commentary of the Vendidad, 1, 4.

[6] "Orion", p. 93.

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of Ahuramazda, viz., *Dathusho*, i. e., 'Giver', or 'Creator'; and this has a special significance here, in as much as with the advent of Spring, nature receives the gift of youth and may be said to be created anew.

In the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes on the Behistun rock, names of nine months have been discovered, one of which is *Bâgayâdaish* (= dedicated to God), which corresponds to our 'Dae'; and this month began with the spring season, as will be shown further on in my treatment of Ardibehesht'.

Tir or **Tishtriya** was the month named after the Star 'Teshtar' (Sirius), and marked the commencement of Autumn, and the setting in of the rains. It has been previously remarked that the Calendar was determined at a very early period in the history of the Aryan race—at a time when the day of the Vernal Equinox was marked by the heliacal rising of Sirius. There is no direct evidence of this, except perhaps a somewhat obscure passage in the Tir Yasht, which seems to have embodied and preserved a tradition of such event; but the indirect evidence that we derive from the connection of the star 'Teshtar' with Rain is very strong.

The passage referred to above is in the Tir Yasht § 36 : "*Tishtrîm stârem raevantem kharenanguhantem yazamaide yim yârê-charésho mashyêhê*", which Spiegel translates:—"We praise Teshtar &c., *who brings here the circling years of men.*" Darmesteter takes along with this sentence the words following, viz., "*Uziyorentem hisposentem*," and translates:—"We praise Teshtar &c., whose rising is watched by men who live on the fruits of the year". According to Dastur Erachji Mehrjirana[7], the meaning of the whole paragraph in which this passage occurs is:—"We praise Teshtar &c., who maketh the year revolve in accordance with the notions of the mountaineers and the nomads. He riseth and is visible towards the regions where the year is calculated correctly, but he reacheth not the regions where there is no correct calculation of the year."

[7] See his *Yasht bâ mâeni.*

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Let us now come to Teshtar's connection with Rain.

When Teshtar rose with the Sun (at the time of the Vernal Equinox), owing to its light being merged in that of the superior luminary it could not be seen except for a short time in the early hours of the morning. But as every star rises about four minutes earlier on each succeeding day, six months later (i. e., at the time of the Autumnal Equinox), Teshtar rose at the time of sunset, and remained on the horizon all throughout the night, attracting towards itself the attention of mankind by its singular brightness. This annual phenomenon led to Teshtar's name being given to the month which commenced at the Autumnal Equinox. And as throughout Central Asia, and especially in Bactria and Bokhara, the rains set in soon after this Equinox, this coincidence—of the acronycal rising of Teshtar with the setting in of the rains—led our forefathers of more than six thousand years ago to regard 'Teshtar' as the *Yazata* presiding over rain.

On an examination of the Tir Yasht it will be seen that wherever there is mention of 'Teshtar' in connection with Rain, his *rising* in the *evening*[8] is spoken of and not his heliacal rising. His *rising* was looked for with expectation by the people, as being the Harbinger of Rain:

> *Kadha no avi uzyarât tishtryo raevâo kharenanghuhâo kadha khâo aspo-staoyêhîsh, apâm tachâonti nava.*
>
> (Tir Yasht, § 5).
>
> "When will the bright Teshtar *rise*[9] in our regions? When will the springs flow afresh, in size bigger than horses?"

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[8] See Tir Yasht, §§ 13, 16, and 18, where 'Teshtar' is said to assume different forms in the 'first ten *nights*', 'second ten *nights*', and the 'third ten *nights*'. These passages also serve to show that when this Yasht was written the Iranians had long since given up the lunar months and had adopted months of 30 days each.

[9] The word *uzyarât* has been taken here in the sense of *rising*, but I am informed that it can also mean *appearing on the meridian*. The latter meaning however cannot be applicable here, as a little calculation.

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Mehr—This in the Avesta language is *Mithra*, and in Sanskrit *Mitra*, meaning 'day-light'. One of the various meanings of *Mitra* given by Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga[10] is 'morning twilight'. On examining the *Gâh* prayers we find that *Mithra* is specially invoked in the *Hâvan Gâh* only, which is the prayer for the time between early morning and noon, that is to say, the time in which 'day' (as opposed to night) may be said to be in its youth; and this leads me to infer that *Mithra* is "*daylight in its growing stage*".

With 'Farvardin' in the Summer Solstice, 'Mehr' naturally begins near the Winter Solstice, from which period daylight begins to increase or to grow; and to commemorate this annual incident, the month in which this phenomenon occurs was rightly named after the angel *Mehr* or *Mithra* whose meaning indicates 'Daylight in its stage of growth'.

The Arabian author Albiruni[11] also states that 'Mehr' was the first month of Winter.

We have so far seen that the months 'Dae', 'Farvardin', 'Tir', and 'Mehr' were the cardinal points of the seasons, and commenced with the beginning of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter respectively. The other months will now be taken in hand, in the order in which they occur.

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will show. In modern times 'Teshtar's' (Sirius's) meridional appearance at sunset occurs on the 31st of March. If, for argument's sake, we take it for granted that in the period referred to in the Tir Yasht this occurred at the time of the Autumnal Equinox, (the commencement of the rainy season), then it follows that owing to the precession of the Equinox, Teshtar's meridional appearance at sunset has receded from the 23rd September to the 31st March. The interval between these dates is 189 days. By the precession of the Equinoxes the Sun's position with respect to any particular star falls back every year by about 20 minutes, or by 1 day in about 71 years. At this rate it would take $189 \times 71 = 13419$ years for the Sun's position with respect to Teshtar falling back by 189 days. It is impossible to believe that such a remote antiquity as of thirteen thousand years could have been mentioned in the Yasht.

[10] His *Khordeh Avesta bâ Mâeni*, 3rd ed., p. 43, foot-note.

[11] In his work 'Athâr-ul-Bâkiya' translated by Dr. C. E. Sachau, p. 208. Albiruni flourished at the end of the 10th Century A. C.

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Ardibehesht—This is the name of the 'Ameshaspenta' who is the Lord of Heat. In the *Gâh* prayers, special mention of 'Ardibehesht' is in the *Rapithwan Gâh* only, i. e., in the prayer for that part of the day which is the hottest, viz., between noon and 3 P. M. We know that the heat of the day is at its maximum not at the time when the Sun reaches the meridian, but one or two hours after noonday; and in like manner, the hottest part of Summer is not the month which begins at the Summer Solstice, but the month succeeding it. The 'dog-days' or days of extreme heat are known to cover the period of time extending from the second week of July to the middle of August. We have seen above that the Summer Solstice occurred at the beginning of 'Farvardin', and consequently the subsequent month, that of extreme heat, was appropriately named after the 'Ameshaspenta' presiding over heat[18].

At the time of the first French Revolution, the Christian Calendar was abolished, and was replaced by a new Republican Calendar, in which the year commenced with the 22nd of September or the Autumnal Equinox, and the months were named from the characteristic features of the different seasons. It is a very remarkable coincidence that their 'Thermidor', or 'Hot month,' covered the period extending from the 19th of July to the 17th of August, the identical period covered by our 'Ardibehesht.'

Two of the months mentioned in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Darius are *Bâgayâdaish* (=dedicated to God), and *Garmapada* (= path of Heat). It may be inferred from the meanings alone that the former corresponded with our 'Dae', and the latter with our 'Ardibehesht', but we have further testimony to show that the interval[18] between *Bâgayâdaish* and *Garmapada* was eight months, just as is between 'Ardibehesht' and 'Dae':—

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[18] In India, owing to the physiographical peculiarity of its situation, the monsoons prevent the heat of July and August being felt as much as it is in other parts of Asia and in Europe.

[18] By interval between the months is meant the interval between any day of one month and the same day of the other month.

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Says Darius,—"On the 9th day of the month *Garmapada* then it was he [Gaumata the Magian] seized the empire..... On the 10th day of the month *Bâgayâdaish* I slew Gaumata the Magian."

We learn from Herodotus that the impostor Gomates reigned for eight months[14], and we can therefore infer that the interval between the months above mentioned was also eight months. If *Garmapada*, as its name indicates, was in the 'dog-days', it follows that *Bâgayâdaish* was in the beginning of Spring, as has been already mentioned in a previous paragraph.

That the names of the months in the inscriptions are different from the Avesta names is not to be wondered at, for the Iranians must have had two names for each month, one a civil name[15] for ordinary usage and for historical records, and the other reserved for religious purposes. It is probable that Darius has made use of the civil names only for his Inscriptions.

Khordâd—This 'Ameshaspenta' is called in the Avesta *Haurvatât* (i.e., Health), and he is the tutelary deity of the waters, whether they be on the Earth in liquid form, or in the Sky in the form of clouds.

Clouds must have been regarded as the bringers of 'Haurvatât' or health, for they are thus invoked in the Vendidad[16]—"*Yayata dunma yayata frâ âpem.....Yaskahe apanashtahe mahrkahe apanashtahe.*"

"Come O ye Clouds, come with your waters..... for annihilating sickness, for annihilating death."

I therefore believe that the month succeeding the hot month 'Ardibehesht' was named 'Khordâd', from the weather in this month being mostly cloudy, owing to excessive evaporation going on.

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[14] Herodotus does not expressly mention 8 months, but he says that after he had reigned over 7 months his imposture became known, and shortly afterwards he was slain.

[15] For civil names of the days of the month in usage in the Sassanian period see "Zarthosti Abhyas," p. 380.

[16] Chapter XXII, § 2, as quoted in Darmesteter's *Haurvatât and Ameretât* translated by H. P. Wadia, p. 59.

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Amerdâd—This 'Ameshaspenta' is the guardian of trees and of vegetation in general, and his name was given to the month succeeding 'Tir', because it was marked by the abundant growth of vegetation, as a result of the rainfall in the previous month.

Taking 'Farvardin' as corresponding with the Hindu month *Bhâdrapad* as shown above, 'Amerdâd' would coincide with the Hindu month *Pôsh* named from the asterism *Pushya*, which in Sanskrit means "blossom."

Here let us pause to examine the sequence of the months from 'Farvardin', and see how closely connected the months are with each other. First comes 'Farvardin' which begins with the Summer Solstice and is the first month of Summer; then comes 'Ardibehesht', the month of extreme heat. Good deal of evaporation has gone on in this hot month, but the vapour has remained in an invisible form owing to the heat. The Sun has however gone on receding towards the Equator, and, by the end of the month, the heat being somewhat lessened, the vapour now assumes the visible form of clouds, and the weather in the succeeding month is mostly cloudy, which circumstance is the cause of the latter month being dedicated to 'Khordâd'. By the end of that month the Sun has reached the Equator, and prepares to go into the Southern hemisphere. There is a further reduction in temperature, and the clouds, being condensed, burst over the land in the form of rain. This aspect of nature is the cause of the month succeeding Khordâd being named after 'Teshtar'. Rainfall, in its turn, causes an abundant growth of vegetation, and therefore the month in which this happens is dedicated to 'Amerdâd'.

Shehrivar—In Avesta *Kshathravairya* (i. e., kingly dignity,) is the angel presiding over metals. I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of why this name was given to the month succeeding 'Amerdâd', i. e., to the month covering the period between the 21st of November to the 20th of December, or thereabouts. I have, however, three theories to propose, and leave the reader to form his own opinion about them.

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1st.—The word 'Kshathra vairya' is used in the Vendîdad (IX, 10) in the sense of an iron instrument. From this an inference might be drawn, that this was the month in which the pasturage, which had sprung up abundantly in 'Amerdâd', was cut by means of *iron instruments*, and was stored up for use in the approaching Winter when cattle could not be taken to the pastures.

There was a somewhat analogous custom among the ancient Dutch people, for the old Dutch name for November, (the month corresponding with our 'Shehrivar') was *Slaght-maand*, or *Slaughter-month*, for in this month the beasts were slain and salted down for winter use[17].

2nd.—Fodder and grass, and perhaps corn, were stored up in this month for winter consumption, the quantity indicating the wealth of the owner; and as 'Shehrivar' presides over wealth, the month was so named in an age, when wealth consisted of produce and cattle.

3rd.—From the literal meaning of the word *Kshathra-vairya* (i. e., kingly dignity,) it might be inferred that some kind of tax was paid to the king in this month.

In connection with the last two theories it may be mentioned that taking 'Farvardin' as coinciding with *Bhâdrapad*, we find 'Shehrivar', coinciding with the Hindu month *Mâgha*, named from the lunar mansion *Maghâ*, which in Sanskrit means "Wealth," "Authority".

Âvân—This month, following 'Mehr', was the second month of Winter, or the heart of Winter. 'Âvân' is the female deity of the waters, and with the cognomen *Ardavisûra*, the name was given to the River Oxus. The month extended over the period from about the 20th of January to the 18th of February, and was so named probably from the circumstance that the Oxus froze in this month.[18] As this river played an important part in the

[17] Dr. Brewer's Dict. of Phrases and Fables. Article—'Months'.

[18] See M'Cullock's Geographical Dictionary, Article—'Bokhara,' Also Captain John Wood's "Journey to the source of the Oxus," p. 196.

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social and religious life of Ancient Iran, this annual phenomenon was deemed of sufficient importance to be preserved in the Calendar.

We have seen above that this month, for the most part, coincided with February, which is so called from Februa, a name of Juno, derived from the Sabine word 'Februo', to purify. Juno was so called because she presided over the purification of women which took place in this month.[19] It is a curious coincidence that the Iranian month should also be named from a female angel, who is spoken of in the Avesta as *purifying the wombs of women* and easing the pains of child-birth. Whether this is a mere coincidence, or whether there is something more underlying it, I leave to the scholars of the Avesta and the classic languages to decide.

Âdar—This was the last of the winter months. In the regions where our forefathers dwelt, owing to the thaw which took place in this month the weather was very cold and moist, and necessitated a bright fire being kept burning in all the rooms of the house. This led to the month being named after the Yazata of Fire. That in Âdar was witnessed the last spurt of Winter is also mentioned by Albiruni,[20] who says:— "This is the end of the winter months when the cold at the end of the season is most biting and the frost is most intense."

Behman—This month, coming after 'Dae', belonged to Mid-Spring, *i.e.*, it was the second month of Spring. The month of the Cuneiform Inscriptions corresponding to it was *Thuravâhr*, which too means Mid-Spring (*Thura* = Avesta *Sura* = bright; and *vâhra*=mod. Pers. *Bahâr*=Spring). According to Max Duncker,[21] *Thuravâhr* corresponds with the Babylonian month Iyar which is the second month of Spring.

Behman is the 'Ameshaspenta' who has the special care of cattle and flocks. As our ancestors were in early ages a pastoral

[19] Dr. Brewer's Dict. of Phrases and Fables, Article—'Months.'

[20] Dr. Sachau's translation, p. 211.

[21] History of Antiquity (Abbot's translation.) Vol. VI, p. 248.

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people, the reason for their naming the second month of Spring after 'Behman' must be looked for in some special phasis of cattle breeding. I believe this was the month in which the parturition of cows took place and consequently they were full of milk. Even in modern practice it is deemed advisable to have the cows calve in Spring so that they may be in full milk when pasturage is at its best.[22] This is further borne out by passages in the Visparad, wherein the *Mediozarem Gâhânbâr*, (which falls on the 45th day from the Vernal Equinox, and consequently in Mid-Spring), is always spoken of as the '*Milk-giver.*'

'Behman', for the most part, coincides with May, (covering the period from about the 20th April to the 19th May), and May was called by the Saxons '*tri-milchi*' (three milch), because cows were milked thrice a day in this month instead of twice a day as usual.[23]

Aspendârmad—This is the name of the guardian Ameshaspenta of the soil. The month bearing this name extended over the period between the 20th of May and the 18th of June, or thereabouts, and the characteristic feature of it was the ripening of corn. To an agricultural people, this aspect of Nature, which is the result of the bounty of the Mother Earth, was of sufficient importance to make them give the name of the Guardian Deity of the ground to the month in which this bounty was manifest. The season for the ripening of corn is different in some places, but my remarks apply to Northern Persia and Bokhara, the original settlement of our forefathers.[24]

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[22] Encyclopedia Brit. ed. 1882, Art.—'Agriculture,' p. 344.

[23] Dr. Brewer's Dict. of Phr. and Fables, Art.—'Months.'

[24] "Winter wheat and barley are sown about the middle of September...The harvest ripens about the end of May." *Schyler's Turkestan* (quoted by Geiger, in vol. I, p. 208 of Dastur Darab's translation). Albiruni also states that the Sassanian kings used to levy the tax at the time of the Naoruz (*i.e.*, the 1st day of Farvardin) which fell about the time of the Summer Solstice, and that at that time the corn was ripe. (Sachau's translation p. 36, et seq.) This implies that the corn was ripe in the previous month Aspendârmad.

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In the French Republican Calendar the corresponding month, 20th May to 18th June, was named 'Prairial' or 'pertaining to the meadows,' which shows how certain ideas run in analogous channels even in nations far removed from each other in point of time.

This brings us to the end of the twelve months, and I now give a brief summary of the characteristic features of the months enumerated above, to give the reader a bird's-eye view of the connection the months had with the seasons, and with the pastoral and agricultural life of the people who named them. I begin with the month which commenced on the Vernal Equinox.

Dae—This month, named from the Creator, was the first month of Spring, and marked the revival (or new-creation) of Nature. It corresponded with the 'Bâgayadaish' of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Behman—Named from the angel who has the special care of cattle. This was the month of Mid-Spring, corresponding to 'Thuravâhr' of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. Plentiful flow of milk in cows was the special feature of this month, and in this respect it was analogous to the 'Tri-milchi' (May) of the Old Saxons.

Aspendârmad—Named from the guardian angel of Land, as in this month the earth was teeming with ripening corn. An analogous month of later times was the 'Prairial' of the French Republican Calendar.

Farvardin—The month dedicated to the Spirits of the dead ancestors. It began on or about the Summer Solstice, which was the period fixed upon for their Festival of the Dead by various other nations. The month ran parallel with 'Thôt' of the Egyptians, and 'Tammuz' of the Shemitics.

Ardibehesht—Named from the 'Ameshaspenta' presiding over Heat. The month was the hottest part of the year, being the second month of Summer, and co-extensive with the Dog

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days, with the 'Garmapada' of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, and with the Thermidor of the French Republican Calendar.

Khordâd—Named from the Lord of Waters and of Clouds. This was the month in which, for the most part, the sky was overclouded, as a result of the evaporation which had been most energetic in the previous month.

Tir—Named from 'Teshtar' or Sirius, who was regarded as the Bringer of Rain. This was the month in which the rains set in, and which commenced at the Autumnal Equinox. It was once marked by the acronycal rising of Sirius.

Amerdâd—Named from the Lord of Vegetation, as in this month vegetation made its appearance on the earth in abundance, owing to the rainfall of the previous month.

Shehrivar—Means "Royal Authority." 'Shehrivar' presides over metals and wealth. This was the month in which pasturage was cut and stored up, the quantity indicating the wealth of the owner? Or, the month in which some kind of tax was paid to the king?

Mehr—Means 'Increasing Daylight'. This was the first month of Winter and commenced at the Winter Solstice, from which point the day begins to increase in length.

Âvân—Named from the female angel presiding over rivers. This was the month which witnessed the freezing of the Oxus, through severe cold.

Âdar—Named from the angel who has the special care of Fire; the month in which thaw took place, and the weather was very chilly and moist, necessitating fires being kept burning in various parts of the house.

From the foregoing sections, this much seems certain that at least the months *Fravashinām*, *Tishtriya*, and *Mithra* must have been named more than six thousand years ago. The other months might perhaps have had different names at that early period, and might have been given their present names after

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the abstract ideas, conveyed by the names of the 'Ameshaspentas' and the angels, had become crystallized in the form of tutelary deities over various parts of created Nature. The names 'Behman' and 'Aspendârmad' seem to have been given during the pastoral and the agricultural periods. *Dathusho*, if not belonging to the earlier period, might have been named at the period when the Iranians had left the high latitudes, (where there were only two seasons—a summer of two months and a winter of ten), for the lower, where Spring was a recognized season.

I have now come to the end of my inquiry into the position of the Parsi months, but I crave the reader's further indulgence for a few remarks regarding the commencement of the year.

There are some traces observable of the year having commenced with different months in different ages, and with different sects. During the Achæmenian and the Sassanian Monarchies, the limits of the Persian empire were, roughly speaking, from the 30th to the 45th degree of Latitude, and from the 30th to the 80th degree of Longitude. The Zoroastrian tribes, (among whom were included the Persians proper, the Medes, the Bactrians, the Sogdians, the Cappadoceans, the Chorasmians, the Parthians, and others), scattered over so large an area, could not have agreed with one another in all points of religion. In fact, when Ardashir Bâbakân took in hand the Reformation of Religion, there were seventy[25] different sects in existence. The religious calendar was very likely one of the points on which they differed.

As shown in a previous paragraph, the most ancient Iranians, when they dwelt in very high Latitudes, must have commenced the year with 'Farvardin', i. e., with the Summer Solstice. The *Gâhánbâr* Festivals, as they are at present, could not have been all instituted then, for these are season festivals, and the Iranians then recognized only two seasons, a summer of two months and a winter of ten. Possibly the *Mediârem* festival was known to them.

[25] *Rawlinson's 7th Oriental Monarchy*, p. 57 ; Gibbon vol. I, p. 232.

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When the Iranians came down towards the Southern regions, where there was a summer of seven, and a winter of five months, the year must have commenced with the Vernal Equinox.

The festivals of *Medioshem* and *Ayâthrem* belong to this period, for, as shown by Mr. K. R. Cama, *Medioshem* is on the 105th day from the Vernal Equinox, or the exact middle of the seven months of Summer, and *Ayâthrem* is on the 210th day, *i.e.*, at the end of the seven months of Summer.

When the Iranians moved still further down towards the Equator, four seasons were recognised by them, of three months each ; and the Gâhânbârs *Mediozarem* and *Paitishehm* must have been instituted then, for *Mediozarem* is the 45th day from the Vernal Equinox, or the exact middle of the three months of Spring, and *Paitishehm* is the 180th day, *i.e.*, the end of the second period of three months. The month 'Dae' must have then marked the beginning of the year, for the *Mediozarem* Gâhânbâr—the 'Milk-Giver' would then naturally come in the middle of 'Behman'.

The Zoroastrian religion, at the time of its establishment, first flourished in Bactria. Later on, a tribe of Zoroastrians, misnamed "Medes" by Berosus, conquered Chaldea in 2458 B.C., and ruled there upto 2234 B.C. History makes no further mention of the Zoroastrians till we come to the 9th century B.C., when we find Zoroastrianism flourishing in the Medean Kingdom. The Medes were succeeded by the Zoroastrian Persians who established the Achæmenian Dynasty. Then after an interval rose the Parthians, who too were Zoroastrians, and lastly came the Sassanians.

In the time of the Ancient Bactrian Monarchy, the first month of the year must have been 'Farvardin'; and this month must have held its first place down to the middle of the second Century B. C. (when the Parthians were in power), for we

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learn that the Chinese who at this period, borrowed from us the names of the months, held 'Farvardin' as the first month.[26]

The Zoroastrians who conquered Chaldea or Babylonia in 2458 B. C. must have regarded 'Dae' as the first month of the year, for it was from them that the Babylonians borrowed the names of their months[27], and the beginning of the Babylonian year was with the month *Nisan*, which corresponded with our 'Dae'.

The Medes, belonging to the period between the 9th and the 6th Century B. C., must have regarded 'Farvardin' as the first month of the year, for it was from them that the Cappadoceans[28] borrowed the names of their months, with 'Farvardin' as the first of them.

In the Sassanian period, the Gâthâ days were put at the end of the month 'Âvân',[29] by the Persians ; and if the position of these days may be regarded as an index of where the beginning of the year ought to be, it follows that they regarded the

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[26] See Cama's *Zarthosti Abhyas*, vol. II, p. 393, for the names of the Chinese months. It is not stated there *when* the borrowing took place but the date can be approximately fixed at about 150 B. C., for we know from history that some Chinese tribes conquered Bactria in 159 B. C., and settled in Bactria, Farghânâ, and Parthia for years together.

[27] The Babylonian months are the same as the Jewish months, the derivation of which from ours is shown in *Zarthosti Abhyas*, vol. II. The Jews never borrowed from us direct, but they did from the Babylonians in the 7th Century B. C., during the captivity. Babylonia was conquered by Cyrus in 538 B. C., but as the Babylonian months occur in the Assyrian Cuneiform records of two or three centuries earlier, the borrowing must have taken place at the time of the previous conquest by the Medes, in 2458 B. C.

[28] For the names of the Cappadocean months see *Zarthosti Abhyas*, Vol. II, p. 393. From Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 537, it appears that the Medes must have occupied Cappadocea long before 650 B.C., Benfey gives 750 B.C., for the Median occupation of Cappadocea.

[29] Albiruni (Sachau's Tr.) pp. 53 and 210. Albiruni is followed by all Mahomedan authors who speak on this subject. His statement,

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next succeeding month, 'Âdar,' as the first month of the year. In that same period the Soghdians and the Chorasmians[30] put the Gâthâ days at the end of 'Aspendârmad', thus taking 'Farvardin' to be the first month.

In the Pehlavi commentary of the Vendidad, composed during the Sassanian period, two months, 'Shehrivar' and 'Behman', are spoken of as mid-winter months. As these are not consecutive months, it follows that they are the months of two different sects. If 'Shehrivar' be taken as the tenth month from the Vernal Equinox, the month beginning with that Equinox, would be 'Âdar'.

From an Assyrian tablet discovered by George Smith[31] it appears that the Babylonian month 'Âdar' was in later times regarded as the first month of Spring. The Sassanians who came into such intimate contact with the Babylonians, that Shemitic words were incorporated in the Pehlavi language, and Shemitic logograms were used in the Pehlavi writings, must have, very likely, borrowed from them the idea of regarding 'Âdar' as the first month of Spring, and consequently the beginning of the year.

In Avesta, wherever the 'Ameshaspenta' Khordâd is mentioned, he is mostly spoken of as Lord of the Year and of the Seasons. This might, I believe, be explained on the supposition

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however, receives support from an independant source, *i.e.*, from the *roz mah* and the Christian dates of certain historical events as given by Nöldeke. One instance will suffice for our purposes :—Kobad Shiruyeh came to the throne on the 8th Roz of the month Âdar, corresponding to 25th February 628 A.C., and Yezdezird bin Shehriar on the 1st roz of Farvardin, corresponding to 16th June 632 A.C. Therefore, in 628 A.C. the 1st of Farvardin was on 17th June. From 25th Feb. to 17th June 628 are 113 days, and from the 9th of Âdar to the 1st of Farvardin are also 113 days *without any intervening Gâthâ days.* This shows that the Gâthâs were not put after any of the months from Âdar to Aspendârmad.

[30] Albiruni, pp. 56-58.

[31] "Assyrian Discoveries" by George Smith, pp. 404-407.

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that at one time the epagomenæ of five days were added after the month 'Khordâd', so as to make the Autumnal Equinox[22] coincide with the 1st *roz* of 'Tir'; or that at one time when the year was of 360 days and one month was added every six years, as was the custom of the Babylonians, the month so doubled was 'Khordâd.' The Babylonian month corresponding to (or rather derived from) 'Khordâd' was Elul, and with the Babylonians the intercalary month was always a second Elul, just as with the Jews it was a second Âdar. It is a strange coincidence that the intercalary month of the Greeks was a second 'Poseidon,'[23] named from the God of Waters, just as the month 'Khordâd' is named from the Angel presiding over the same element.

It seems therefore that regarding the beginning of the year there was no concensus of opinion among the Zoroastrians of different ages and of different climes; but there can be no doubt as to where the position of the months in the year ought to be, if we take certain months as belonging to certain seasons, following the evidence furnished by the system of their nomenclature.

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[22] From the Vernal Equinox to the Autumnal Equinox there are 185 days (21st March to 22nd Sept.) From the 1st of 'Dae' to the end of 'Khordâd' are 180 days, and the 5 Gâthâ days added would make 185 days.

[23] Cowasji Patell's Chronology.

14th July 1899.

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OUTRE-TOMBE:

A ZOROASTRIAN IDYLL.

By L. C. Casartelli.

The verses which follow are not, of course, in any way a literal or scientific rendering of any part of the Avesta: they are merely a "cento" made up from two very different parts of the Avestic Sacred Books, viz., the Vendidad, Fargard XIX, §§ 88-106, (W. 26-34), and the Hadokht-Nask (Yesht XXII), occasionally eked out by an idea from the Pehlavi version. The object in view is a very modest one,—to popularize a portion of the sacred writings of the interesting Mazdayasnian religion, still professed by our enlightened fellow-subjects, the Parsis of Bombay, somewhat after the manner—*Sed longo intervallo*—of Sir Edwin Arnold's delightful adaptations of Buddhist and Hindu literature and Mr. Romesh Dutt's recent 'condensation' of the great Hindu Epic of the Mahabharata into English verse[1]. Like these writers I have taken the liberty of frequent 'adaptation' of the originals. It will be found that I have endeavoured to combine the two different passages utilised, so as to produce a fairly harmonious whole. I have ventured to draw the conclusion of the first of these Dantesque episodes—the entry into heaven of the just soul—from the Vendidad (XIX, 101-105), whilst for the second episode, the woeful end of the sinner, I have preferred the description in the Hadokht-Nask (II, 33-35).

I may add that I have made two similar experiments with Avestic passages a few years ago,—"The Glory and the Fall of Yima," in *The Month*, and "The Temptation of Zoroaster", in *Trübners' Record*, Vol. II, No. 1. (May 1890.)

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1 London, J. M. Dent & Co., 1898.

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I.

Quoth Zarathustra:

"O Most Holy One!
Creator of the Worlds! Ahura Mazda!
When that a man is dead, where dwells his Soul?
And where, O Lord, doth retribution come
To meet him,—whatso'er of good or ill
He may have drawn upon him in this world
Corporeal? Speak, O thou Most Holy Lord!"

Ahura spake:

"Close by his head, the Soul
Cowers the whole night long, whilst all around
The wicked *dêvs*, with guileful hearts, in vain
Strive to make onslaught, but he prays aloud,
Reciting thus the *Ustavaiti* prayer:

'Salvation to the man
To whom Ahura wills
Salvation to be given,
Deliverance from all ills!'

"So all night long the just man's Soul doth taste
As much pure joy as all the living world.
And so the first and second night pass on;
But when the third dark night is rolled away,
And dawn begins to break, and the great Sun,
In golden armour clad, doth tip each peak
Of mountain-top with light, and bursts at last
Into his fullness,—then the Soul sets forth
Upon its quest,—yea, every soul of man
Or just or sinner, three days after death
Must brisk him for his pilgrimage, and tread
The time-created roads unto the Bridge,
The Bridge of Chinwat.
Now the just man's Soul
Soon cometh to a place of many trees,

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Filled with sweet perfumes, for the soft South Wind,
Scent-laden from the Southern regions, comes
Wafting its fragrance which the Soul draws in
With swelling nostrils, crying : 'Whence this breeze,
The sweetest ever breathed ?'
When lo ! at once
Steps forth a Maiden, wondrous fair and bright,
Of stately form, robust, of graceful mien,
With great and kindly eyes, and brow gold-bound,
Like to a damsel of but thrice five springs,
The fairest of all fairest creatures she !
Then the just Soul cries out :
'Ah ! who art thou,
O fairest Virgin ?'
And she makes reply :
'Young man, thine own good Thoughts and Words and Deeds
Am I ; thy godly Life ; thy nature's self !'
'But who hath made thee thus, so great and fair,
Filled full of sweetness and of conquering might,
O Maiden ?'
And the damsel makes reply :
'Thyself, young man, hast made me thus to be,
In Thought and Word and Deed, so great and fair,
Filled full of sweetness and of conquering might.
For whenso'er thou sawest wicked men
To do dark deeds of magic or of guile,
Or cruel oppression, or to cut down trees
In wantonness, then didst thou bow thee low,
Reciting hymns and paying worship due
To Fire and Water, Mazda's creatures holy;
And ever gavest hospitality
To true believers, dwelt they far or near.
So me, being fair, thou madest still more fair ;
Me loveable, thou mad'st more worthy love,
By thy good Thoughts, good Words, and holy Deeds!'

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So speaking, then, the Maiden wondrous fair,
Stately and tall, with gold-encircled brow,
Full of bright youth, with virtue rich endowed,
Leads on the Soul, across the mountains high,
Unto the Chinvat Bridge, the Holy Bridge,
By God created, all along the road
Of the Celestial Yazats, till they reach
The gate of Paradise.
Upriseth Vohuman,
Spirit of Virtue, from his golden throne,
To greet the Soul, and speaketh :
'Holy one !
Welcome thou com'st to us, from out the world
That perisheth into the Eternal world !'
Thereat rejoiced, the just man's soul steps forth
And entereth the immortal Home of God."

II.

Then Zarathustra :

" But, Most Holy One !
Creator of the Worlds ! Ahura Mazda !
When that a wicked man hath died the death,
Where doth his soul remain for all that night ?"

Quoth Ahura Mazda :

" All night long the Soul
Around his head still runneth to and fro,
Crying aloud that verse, that wail of woe :
'Unto what land, O God!
To turn myself? Ah me!
Whither my plaint to bear?
Whither to turn and flee?'
Thus all night long the wicked soul doth taste
As bitter woe as all the living world.
And so the first and second nights pass by ;
But when the third dark night is rolled away

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And dawn breaks forth, then must the wicked Soul
Set out unto the land of dreadful woe,
Where noisome stenches breathe their vileness round,
And foul North Wind, foulest of all the winds,
Comes blowing down upon him from the North.
And, as his nostrils drew its vileness in,
He cries aloud: 'Faugh! whence this noisome breeze,
The foulest ever breathed?'
Thereat he steps
Three strides across the thrice-accursed land
Of Evil Thought and Evil Word and Deed,
And at the fourth step plungeth suddenly
Into the Land where darkness reigns Eterne.
Then up and crieth one, a wicked Soul,
The ghost of one already dead:
'Ah wretch!
How hast thou died? How camest thou thy way,
Leaving thy lands and herds and fruitful flocks,
Out from the world material to this world,
The Spirit-world, unto this endless woe?'
But Añro-Mainyus yells:
'Ask thou him not!
He whom thou questioneth hath come his way
Along that painful, that distressful road,
The Rending of the Body and the Soul!
Henceforth his food is poison and his cup,
The cup and food of such as end by death
A life of Evil Thought and Word and Deed!'"

Manchester, 6th July 1899.

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THE MODERN AVESTA OF MILTON.

By Ervad Bahmanji Nassarwanji Dhabar, M. A.

It is now generally known, and proved by specialists like Cheyne and others, that the Jews, during the seventy years of their rule in Babylon, had derived many ideas from the Persians. Ideas about the immortality of the soul and the belief in angels and in Satan as the Prince of Darkness were borrowed by the Jews from the Persians during the Captivity. We meet with Satan for the first time in the Book of Job and that book, it is acknowledged, was written during the exile. The belief in angels and demons once accepted, the growth of Jewish angelology and demonology was rapid. Now Milton, who has told the story of the Creation in his epic of Paradise Lost, has borrowed it from "the Judaism which had drunk deeply at Persian springs." "Milton's poem", remarks Addison, "is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country, or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it." Further on he says "Notwithstanding all the restraints he was under, he has filled his story with as many surprising incidents, which bear so close an analogy with what is delivered in Holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offence to the most scrupulous." "Vastness of scene and power of story together, little wonder," says Prof. Masson in his edition of Milton, "that the poem should have so impressed the world. Little wonder that it should now be Milton's Satan and Milton's narrative of the Creation in its various transcendental connexions that are in possession of the British imagination, rather than the strict Biblical accounts from which Milton so scrupulously derived the hints to which he gave such marvelous expansions!"

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It is on the strength of the above remarks made by two of the best and most sympathetic commentators of the poet-prophet that a comparison is made between the conceptions in the Avesta and in his famous epic. Scholars learned in Hebrew and Avestan lore, especially the late Dr. Alexander Kohut, have shown on previous occasions the similarity or dissimilarity in ideas expressed in the Genesis and Avesta and thence deduced a mutual borrowing according as the priority of the two conceptions, from their point of view, was on one side or the other. The comparison will show the justification of the title of this subject. The different original passages speak for themselves and further comments on them are not needed.

The Creation of the World.

Open, ye Heav'ns, your living doors; let in
The great Creator from his work return'd
Magnificent, his six days' work, a world.
(P. L. VII. 566-68).

* According to Bd. I, § 28, the world was created in six days. The first was the sky; the second, water; the third, earth; the fourth, plants; the fifth, animals; and the sixth, mankind.

And in a moment will create
Another world, out of one man a race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tri'd,
And Earth be changed to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,
One kingdom, joy and union without end.
(VII. 154-61).

* The quotations are from the excellent translations of West, Darmesteter and Mills in the S. B. E. Series. The following are the abbreviations used:—P. L. for Paradise Lost; Bd. for Bundahishn; Mk. for Minokherad; Dd. for Dâdistân-i-Dînîk; Vd. for Vendidad; Yt. for Yasht; A V. for Ardâvîrâf; Pah. for Pahlavi; Y. for Yaçna; Dk. for Dinkard.

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Bd. II § 11 :—"The guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the Omniscient Wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil that comes upon them, in the world, from the fiend Aharman, and their becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the Adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting."

This said, he form'd thee, Adam, thee O man !
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of life ; in his own image he
Created thee, in the image of God
Express, and thou becam'st a living soul.

(VII. 524-28).

Mk. VIII, § 7 ;—"The Creator Auharmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendour."

Know then that after Lucifer from Heav'n
Fell with his flaming legions through the Deep
Into his place, and the great Son return'd
Victorious with his saints, th' Omnipotent
Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake :

(Here God declares his pleasure to create another world, and other creatures to dwell therein.)

So spake the Almighty, and to what he spake
His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect.

(VII. 131-75).

Bd. I, § 23 :—"Auharmazd created his creatures *in the confusion of Ahriman ;* first he produced Vohuman (His Word) by whom the progress of the creatures of Auharmazd was advanced."

To create
Is greater than created to destroy. (VII. 606-7).

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Dd. XXXVII, § 5, "The formation again of that which was formed is more excellent and *the wonder is less*, than the creation of creatures. Bd. XXX, 6 :—"Observe that when that which was not was produced, why is it not possible to produce again that which was?"

O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Endu'd with various forms, &c. (V. 469-73).

The Avestan term *dâ* (Pahlavi Dâtan) means to produce, form, create : hence *dâtâr* means maker, creator. It does not mean creation *ex-nihilo*. West observes : "It can hardly be proved that it means to create out of nothing any more than any other of the Avesta verbs which it is sometimes convenient to translate by 'create'." Spiegel also favours the idea of creation from a pre-existing matter. Casartelli, on the strength of the remarks made in Bd. XXX, § 5, says that this opinion is not easily reconciled with them :—"When they (sky, earth, man &c.,) were formed, it was not forming the future out of the past."

The War in Heaven.

'Peace is despaired,
For who can think submission ? War then, war
Open or understood, must be resolv'd.' (I. 660-62).

For never can true reconcilement grow
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep :
Which would but lead me to a worse relapse
And heavier fall. (IV. 98-101).

Bd. I, §§ 13-14. "Auharmazd proposed peace.....; the Evil Spirit shouted thus :—'I will destroy thy creatures for

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ever and everlasting; moreover, I will force all thy creatures into disaffection to thee and affection for myself'." Mk. X, §§ 10-11. "Ahriman, on account of a bad nature accepts no goodness and truth: and on this account there cannot be for them (Auharmazd and Ahriman) any peace and affection whatever, one with the other."

The tow'rs of Heaven are filled
With armed watch, that render all access
Impregnable: oft on the bordering deep
Encamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of night
Scorning surprise. (II. 129-34).

Bd. VI, §§ 2,3. "Auharmazd had completed a rampart around, stronger than the sky and in front of the sky. And his guardian spirits of warriors and the righteous, on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky: such like as the hair on the head is the similitude of those who hold the watch of the rampart."

The crystalline sky, in sapphire thron'd. (VI. 772).

Now glow'd the firmament
With living sapphires. (IV. 604-5).

The crystal wall of heaven. (VI. 860).

Mk. IX, § 7. "The sky is made from the substance of the blood-stone (ruby) such as they also call diamond." Ib. XXVIII, § 10. "The celestial sphere is the strongest." Dd. XCI, § 2. "The sky is a dome wide and lofty; its inside and whole width and boundaries, besides its material existence, are the stone of light, of all stones the hardest and most beautiful; and the grandeur of its spirit and even its internal bow (the rain bow) are like those of mighty warriors arrayed."

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Downright into the World's first region throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
Through the pure marble air his oblique way.
(III. 562-64).

Down he fell
A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
Reluctant, but in vain. (X. 513-15).

All unawares
Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fadom deep. (II. 932-34).

Bd. III, §§ 10-11. "The evil spirit, with the confederate demons, went towards the luminaries, and he saw the sky..... He stood upon one-third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang, like a snake, out of the sky down to the earth." Zâdsparam, II, § 3. "He came on, through the middle of the earth, as a snake all leaping comes on out of a hole; and he stayed within the whole earth."

So under fiery cope together rush'd
Both battles main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage; all Heav'n
Resounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her centre shook. (VI. 215-19).

He on his impious foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
The steadfast empyrian shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God. (VI. 831-34).

Bd. XCI, §§ 8-10....."There was an approach to the sky of that actual contender for the place, the fiend, and the sky was shaken by him.....And it is said summarily that the sky was shaken in the period of disturbance and restored with trouble."

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Hell.

Such a foe
Is rising who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, *throughout the spacious north.*
(V. 724-26).

And *from the north* to call
Decrepit winter; from the south to bring
Solstitial summer's heat. (X. 654-56).

Vd. XIX, § 1.—"From the region of the north, from the regions of the north, forth rushed Angra Mainyu, the deadly, the Daeva of the Daevas." Yt. XXII, § 25. "It seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst snow and stench, and as if a wind were blowing from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, a foul-scented wind, the foulest-scented of all the winds in the world."

Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived
Gorgons and Hydras, and Chimeras dire. (II. 624-28).

Dd. XXII, § 5. "And with him (Vizarash demon) are the spirits and demons.....the wounders, the slayers, destroyers, deadly ones, monsters, and criminals, those who are unseemly, those too who are diseased and polluted, biters, and tearers, noxious creatures, windy stenches, glooms, fiery stenches, thirsty ones, those of evil habits, disturbers of sleep, and other special causers of sin and kinds of perverting." The infernal regions and the terrors of hell are fully described in the Visions of Ardâ Virâf; cf. especially V, § 8.

Yet from these flames
No light, but rather *darkness visible*
Serv'd only to discover sights of woe. (I. 62-64).

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The palpable obscure. (II. 406).

This gloom of Tartarus profound. (II. 858).

AV. XVIII, § 7. "Darkness so dense that it can be seized with the hand." Pah. Vd. V, § 62. "Darkness that can be grasped with the hand." Cf. also, Mk. VII, § 31.

God and the Glorification of His Works.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good,
Almighty, thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair ; thyself how wondrous then !
Unspeakable, who sit'st above these heavens
To us invisible or dimly seen
In these thy lowest works, yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine ;
(V. 153-59).

Great are thy works, Jehovah ! infinite
Thy power ; what thought can measure thee or tongue
Relate thee ? (VII. 602-4).

Though to recount Almighty works
What words or tongue of seraph can suffice
Or heart of man suffice to comprehend ? (VII. 112-14).

In Yasna 44, one of the noblest Gâthâs (psalms) ever penned in praise of the Almighty, Zarathushtra questions Ahura about the wonderful phenomena of this world, the sublime objects and workings of nature, the creation of the sun, the moon, the stars, the water, the winds, &c., in the confident belief that He alone is the Creator. "Who if not Thou," asks Zarathushtra, has created all these things ? Such a Being is, therefore, worthy of worship. "Therefore, as the first did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda ! as the one to be adored with the mind in the creation, as the Father of the Good Mind

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within us, when I beheld Thee with my eyes as the veritable Maker of our Righteousness, as the Lord of the actions of life!" (Yt. 31, 8). "Invocations of this nature fill the mind with glorious ideas of God's works, and awaken that divine enthusiasm which is so natural to devotion."—Addison.

Thee Author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyself invisible—
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle Heav'n. (III. 374-81).

God is light
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity. (III. 3-5).

AV. CI, §§ 11-12:—"I saw a light but I saw nobody; I also heard a voice and I understood that: 'This is Auharmazd.'" Bd. I, § 12. "The region of light is the place of Auharmazd which they call 'endless light'."

Who am alone
From all eternity, for none I know
Second to me or like, equal much less. (VIII. 405-7).

Bd. I, § 3:—"Auharmazd and the region, religion and time of Auharmazd were and are and ever will be." Dk. I § 40, 2:—"Before the work of the Lord was promulgated through the Spênâmino, He Himself existed. And the existence of all is owing to the Self-existent."

(Whom I now
Of force believe Almighty, since no less
Than such could have o'er-pow'r'd such force as ours.)
(I. 143-5).

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Bd. I, § 9. "The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Auharmazd."

To God more glory, more good will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
(XII. 477-78).

But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.
(III. 134).

Bd. I, § 2. "Auharmazd is supreme in goodness." Dd. LXXV, § 3. "The good Creator, granting forgiveness and full of goodness, would not abandon any creature to the fiend." Mk. VIII, § 22 :—"Auharmazd is wishing good, and never approves nor contemplates evil."

But that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs ;
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
Evil to others ; and enrag'd might see
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
On man by him seduc't ; but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
(I. 211-20).

So bent he seems
On desperate revenge, that shall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. (III. 84-86).

To him
Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
Good out of evil to create, &c. (VII. 186-88).

Who seeks
To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
To manifest the more thy might ; his evil
Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
(VII. 613-16).

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Mk. VIII, § 24. "Auharmazd, when he wishes it is able to alter as regards the creatures of Ahriman." Dk. IV, 162, § 11. "The fourth way (mode of procedure of Spento Mainyush) is to turn back upon the *Drujs* the dangers caused by them for injuring the people. As the heads of enemies are broken with their (own) battle-axes, so are the *Devs* to be smitten with their (instruments the) *Drujs*."

To attain
The highth and depth of thy eternal ways
All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things,
Thou in thyself art perfet, and in thee
Is no deficience found. (VIII. 412-16).

Dd. XXXVII, § 4 :—"The secrets and affairs of the persistent Creator like every mystery and secret, excepting Himself —He who is capable of all knowledge, the fully-informed, and all in all—no one of the worldly beings and imperfect spirits has known them."

Judgment and Resurrection.

When thou attended gloriously from Heav'n
Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send
The summoning archangels to proclaim
Thy dread tribunal : forthwith from all winds
The living, and forthwith cited dead
Of all past ages to the general doom
Shall hast'n ; such a peal shall rouse their sleep,
Then all thy saints assembl'd, thou shalt judge
Bad men and angels, they arraign'd shall sink
Beneath thy sentence. (III. 323-32).

Bd. XXX, §§ 10, 12. "Then is the assembly of Sadvâstarân, where all mankind will stand at this time ;.....in that assembly a wicked man becomes as conspicuous as a white sheep among those which are black. Afterwards they set the

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righteous man apart from the wicked; and then the righteous is for heaven and they cast the wicked back to hell."

> The world shall burn and from her ashes spring
> New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
> And after all their tribulations long
> See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
> With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.
> (III. 334-38).

Bd. XXX, §§ 19-20. "The fire and halo melt the metal of Shatvairo in the hills and mountains, and it remains on this earth like a river. Then all men will pass into that melted metal and will become pure."

"When Adam finds the redemption of man completed and Paradise again regained, he breaks forth in rapture and transport" :—

> O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
> That all this good of evil shall produce,
> And evil turn to good.....
> To God more glory, more good will to men
> From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
> (XII. 469-78).

Bd. XXX, § 23. "All men become of one voice and administer loud praise to Auharmazd and the archangels." The Mazdayasnian also cries out :—"Praise be to the Lord of gifts, who bestows upon those who obey his commandments the reward of righteous wishes and who will at the end liberate transgressors from hell and adorn the world with purity."
(Dk. II. 81,6.)

"Excursions on Free-will and Predestination."

> I made him just and right,
> Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

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Such I created all the ethereal powers
And spirits, both them who stood and them who failed ;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
Where only what they needs must do, appear'd,
Not what they would ? What praise could they receive ?
What pleasure I from such obedience paid ?
When will and reason (reason also is choice)
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
Made passive both, had serv'd necessity,
Not me. They therefore as to right belong'd,
So were created ; nor can justly accuse
Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if predestination over-rul'd.
Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree
Or high foreknowledge ; they themselves decreed
Their own revolt, not I ; if I foreknew,
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
So without least impulse or shadow of fate,
Or aught by me immutably foreseen,
They trespass ; authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge and what they choose ; for as
I formed them free, and free they must remain,
Till they enthral themselves. (III. 98-125).

God made thee perfet, not immutable ;
And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity.
Our voluntary service he requires,
Not our necessitated, such with him
Finds no acceptance, nor can find, for how
Can hearts, not free, be tri'd whether they serve

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Willing or no, who will but what they must
By destiny, and can no other choose ?
(V. 524-534).

His creating hand
Nothing imperfet or deficient left
Of all that he created, much less Man,
Or aught that might his happy state secure,
Secure from outward force ; within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power :
Against his will he can receive no harm.
But God left free the will, for what obeys
Reason, is free ; (IX. 344-353).

Cf. the following passage from Milton's Areopagitica :— "Many there be that complain of Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues ! When God gave him reason he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam."

The Gâthâs, the Vendidâd and the other Avestan writings teach that man is free to act, but the Minokherad, a later Sassanian work, which contains a strange intermixture of the doctrines of Predestination and Free-will, no doubt influenced by other religions, avows openly the doctrine of Fatalism which is connected with the idea of the influence of the planets. To counteract the mischief done by such a dangerous doctrine, it also holds men responsible for their actions. (Mk. Chs. XXII, XXIII, XXIV.) Y. 43, § 5. "Rewarding deeds and words, Thou did'st establish evil for the evil, and happy blessings for the good, by Thy virtue to be adjudged to each in the creation's final change." Y. 31, § 20 :—"And this, which is such a life as your own, O ye vile ! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring you !" Vd. 18, § 19 :— "Make thy own self pure, O righteous man ! any one in the world here below can win purity for his own self, namely, when he cleanses his own self with good thoughts, words and deeds."

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Knowledge is Power.

To ask or search I blame thee not, for heav'n
Is as the book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous works. (VIII. 66-68).

Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know
The works of God, thereby to glorify
The great Work-Master, leads to no excess.
That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
The more it seems excess,.....
For wonderful indeed are all his works,
Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight.
(III. 694-704).

But knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain ;
Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.
(VII. 126-130).

Cf. Mk, §§ 19-24. "It is knowledge of which no one knows a superfluity. It is learning and skill which no one is able to deprive one of. It is understanding and intellect which it is not possible to buy at a price. It is wisdom with which every one and one's own self are untroubled and satisfied. It is stupidity and ignorance with which every one and one's own self are troubled and not satisfied. That one wish which Auharmazd, the Lord, contemplates as regards men is this :—"Ye shall fully understand me ; for every one who fully understands me comes after me and strives for my satisfaction." Yt. 28, § 2. "I implore from Thee *the understanding of Thy Benevolent Mind*, in order that I may propitiate the Soul the Kine."

Knowledge is power which enables a man to make the powers of nature subservient to his will ; but the power is often

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abused and the Avesta warns the faithful against wielding such power. The Gâthâs distinguish between *Vangheûsh Khratûm Manangho* (wisdom of the Benevolent Mind) and *Kâvayaschâ Khratûsh* (Evil knowledge.) "Those who with evil knowledge and will shall cherish and help on the Wrath of Rapine..... settle and support the Daevas." We again read in the Dinkard that Love of Wisdom (Khart-dôshakîh) must be without egotism (Khût-dôshakîh) and Research of knowledge (pûrçîtârîh dânishnîh) without illegal research (avârun bavîhûnishnîh).

"Panegyric on Marriage."

Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain
But our destroyer, foe to God and man ?
Hail wedded love ! mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole propriety
In Paradise of all things common else.
By thee adulterous lust was driv'n from men
Among the bestial herds to range, by thee
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of Father, son, and brother just were known.
Far be it that I should write thee sin or blame.
Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefiled and chaste pronounc't,
Present or past, as saints and patriarchs us'd.
(IV. 748-62).

In his "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," Milton has propagated certain doctrines about divorce. Apart from those doctrines, these excellent lines echo the Zoroastrian eulogy on Marriage. Cf. Vd. IV, § 47. "Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathushtra, the man who has a wife is far above him who lives in continence ; he who keeps a house is far above him

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who has none ; he who has children is far above the childless man." Yt. XVII, § 59. "This is the third wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi : 'This is the worst deed that men and tyrants do, namely, when they deprive maids, that have been barren for a long time, of marrying and bringing forth children '."

The whole chapter of Yaçna 53 may be profitably compared with the above. It is full of monitions for the marrying and the famous bride and bridegroom. The bride is the daughter of Spitama Zarathushtra himself.

Suicide.

Or if thou covet death, as utmost end
Of misery, so thinking to evade
The penalty pronounc't, doubt not but God
Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire than so
To be forestall'd ; much more I fear lest death
So snatcht, will not redempt us from the pain
We were by doom to pay ; rather such acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
To make death in us live. (X. 1020-28).

Unnatural death—death brought on by violent methods—is discountenanced in the Avesta. It teaches us to submit to the dispensations of Providence. "Health and long life" is one of the items in the long list of blessings invoked by a Mazdayasnian in his daily recital of prayers. Y. 68, § 10 :—"O ye waters ! to him, ye give possessions which entail abundant glory, and a legitimate scion, and a *long enduring life*, &c." Vd. VII, § 71 declares distinctly that the life of a woman laid up with puerperal fever and, for the matter of that, of any person in danger of losing his life should, if possible, be saved, no matter if the strict injunctions laid down by the Mazdean religion be, for the time being, set aside.

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"The Beautiful Digression upon Hypocrisy."

So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd
For neither man nor angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible except to God alone,
By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth :
And oft through Wisdom's wake, Suspicion sleeps
At Wisdom's gate, and to Simplicity
Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems ; (III. 681-89).

The heretics, the apostates and all those who misrepresent the Avesta text and lead people astray are known as "Ashmoghs" and are strongly denounced, so much so that in *Shâyast-la-Shâyast* XVII, § 7 it is said that an *Ashmog* will not rise up from the dead even on the last day (day of resurrection). Ahriman whose words bear only a 'semblance of worth, not substance' is the prince of such apostates (Mk. XIV, § 8) Cf. also Y. 9, § 31. "Against the righteousness disturber (âshmôg) the unholy life destroyer, *thoughts or words of our religion well-delivering, yet in actions never reaching*, for the righteous saint that perishes, yellow Haoma, hurl thy mace !" Ahriman, according to Milton,

was the first
That practis'd falsehood under saintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, couch't with revenge :
(IV. 121-23).

Obedience to the will of God ; Prayer and Repentance.

I will clear their senses dark,
What may suffice, and soft'n stony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To prayer, repentance and obedience due,
Though but endeavour'd with sincere intent,

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Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
And I will place within them as a guide
My umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear,
Light after light well us'd they shall attain,
And to the end persisting, safe arrive. (III. 188-97).

Henceforth I learn that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, &c. (XII. 561-66).

Y. 36, § 5. "We therefore bow before Thee, and we direct our prayers to Thee with confessions of our guilt, O Ahura Mazda! with all the good thoughts, with all the words well-said and the deeds well-done, with these would we approach Thee." Yt. I, § 21 :—"If I have offended thee whether by thought, or word or deed, whether by act of will, or without intent or wish, I earnestly make up the deficiency of this in praise to Thee." Dd. LXXV, § 5. "Even as to him who is most grievously sinful, when he becomes mentally seeking pardon and repentant of the sin, and being as much an atoner as he is well able, has delivered up his body and wealth for retribution and punishment, in reliance upon the atonement for sin of the good religion, then it is possible for his soul, also, to come to the place of the righteous." Yt. XI, § 2. "Good prayer, *without deceit and without harm*, is manly courage and turns away the Druj".

"One great moral which reigns in Milton is the *most universal and most useful* that can be imagined. It is, in short, this that obedience to the will of God makes men happy, and that disobedience makes men miserable."—Addison.

1st August 1899.

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ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF PAHLAVI.

By Dr. E. W. West.

1. During my Pahlavi studies, extending over more than thirty years, I have had occasion to fill about 1500 foolscap quarto pages with transliterations and translations of Pahlavi and Pâzand texts, being more than one-third of all those texts, known to exist. The transliterations, in the upper half of each page, and the translations, in the lower half, occupying practically equal spaces. In the course of time it has been found desirable to introduce several alterations into the system of these transliterations, for the sake of rendering them more intelligible and definite. And the object of this essay is to record the results of my experience in such matters, for the information and criticism of my fellow-students of Pahlavi texts.

2. Before A.D. 275 two kinds of Pahlavi writing and dialect were used by the Sasanian kings in their inscriptions: Chaldæo-Pahlavi and Sasanian Pahlavi, each alphabet containing eighteen letters. After that date, the royal inscriptions seem to have been all engraved in Sasanian Pahlavi which gradually became more cursive, until it finally assumed the form of manuscript Pahlavi about A.D. 680.

3. These Sasanian and Chaldæo-Pahlavi alphabets represented the following sounds, which are here arranged approximately in the modern-Persian order of the letters:—

1. a (initial), â. 2. b. 3. p, f. 4. t. 5. *c*, j. 6. kh, h.
7. d. 8. r, v, w, û, ô. 9. z. 10. s. 11. sh. 12. k.
13. g. 14. l, *r*. 15. m. 16. n. 17. y, î, ê. 18. *â* (final).

4. In the Sasanian alphabet this eighteenth letter is shaped very like an old form of the Syriac *olaph* (a, â), which occurs three times in a Syriac quotation from Scripture, inscribed under the larger ancient Cross at Kôttayam in Travancore (see

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Epigraphia Indica, vol. IV. pp. 175, 176, and plate), where it is the first letter in *Elâ*, and the last in *lâ* and *Meshîkhâ*. In Chaldæo-Pahlavi this letter has been altered in form by a cursive attempt to inscribe its branching outline without lifting the scriber from the surface inscribed. And it has also been altered, in MS. Pahlavi, by a similar attempt, in which the pen was likewise not lifted from the paper, but follows another course, so as to produce the letter 𐭠, precisely similar to the compound *man* or *mû*. Owing to this similarity, and to its being always added to some well-known Semitic word, this letter has long been known as "the suffix *man*". It has also been supposed to be a Semitic *h*, and its Chaldæo-Pahlavi form does bear some resemblance to the Syriac *h*.

5. But the actual sound of this letter can be best ascertained from the words in which it is used in MS. Pahlavi. Out of 55 such words there are 44 in which this final 𐭠 represents a Semitic â, generally the emphatic suffix in Chaldee. These 44 words, arranged alphabetically in the order of the Persian alphabet, are as follows, representing 𐭠 by italic *â*; and any other unusual sound of any letter being also italicized :— 𐭠𐭥𐭮𐭬 akhat*â*, "sister". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭥𐭯 khap*â* for 𐭠𐭣𐭱 gabb*â*, "the back". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭦 az*â*, 𐭠𐭦𐭣 azd*â*, in Epistle II. vii, 2. Ch. azdâ, "decided, decision". 𐭠𐭯𐭫 anp*â*, "the face". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭯𐭪𐭫 aoctap*â*. Ch. emph. etsbe'â, etsbe'âtâ. The letters b and t have been transposed into t and p. 𐭠𐭪𐭫 anm*â* for 𐭠𐭯𐭫 anp*â*, "the face". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭫 hav*â*, "was", Ch. root. 𐭠𐭣𐭦 adar*â*=abar*â*. Ch. emph. êbârâ. 𐭠𐭫𐭭 aîn*â*, "the eye". Ch. emph. 'aynâ, 'ênâ'. 𐭠𐭥𐭯𐭥𐭱 benafsh*â*, "oneself". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭥𐭫 ber*atâ*, "daughter". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭫 ber*â*, "son". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭫𐭯𐭥 pûm*â*, "the mouth". Ch. emph. 𐭠𐭣𐭥 tâl*â*, "the fox, the nose (as being a characteristic feature of the fox). Ch. emph. ta'elâ, "the fox". 𐭠𐭫𐭲 cavar*â*, "the neck". Ch. tsavvar.

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 libbamâ (perhaps libbayâ[1], plural), for  libbâ, "the heart". Ch. emph.  rapmâ (perhaps rapyâ[1]), "servant-boy". Ch. emph. rabyâ, "the boy". A similar form occurs in the crude verb  rapmâun, or (in the oldest MS.)  lipûmâûn, "to bring", which has not yet been found in any text, and both reading and meaning are still uncertain.  levatâ, "with, together with". Syr. levato.  lanâ, "us, our, we". Ch. "to us".  rôêshâ, "the head". Ch. emph. rêshâ. riglâ, "the foot or leg". Ch. emph.  zerapomâ, for gerabonâ, "debt, or loan". Heb. 'êrâbôn with emph. suffix â.  gadâ, "glory, destiny". Ch. emph. gâdâ.  yedâ, "the hand". Ch. emph. shârâ, "the hair". Ch. emph. sha'arâ.  shetâ. Heb. shêt with emph. suffix â. shôlâ, "hell". Heb. shôl with emph. suffix â.  shûmârâ, "the cat". Ch. emph. shunerâ. for  gebînâ "the eyebrow". Ch. emph.  kresâ,  krêsâ, "the belly". Ch. emph. krêsâ.  kaspâ, "silver, money"; but it is translated by gohar, "pearl", which might be called kaspâ as "the white gem". To trace kaspâ to Arab. qasab is much less probable. Ch. emph.  mâlâ, "full". Heb. mâlêh, in which the final letter is *aleph*. mânâ, "drinking-cup". Ch. emph.  nafshâ, "one's own". Ch. emph.  valâ, "that one, he, she, it". Perhaps for Ch. hûvâ, artificially compounded as follows:—Taking val as  val, "to", = Pâz.  avo, substituting the latter for the former, we have  = the hybrid = Ch. hûvâ, "that, he".  nisgâ,  nishgâ, "drink offering". Ch. emph. niskâ.  nêshâ, "woman". Syr. pl. nesheh, in which the final letter is

1 The Iranian initial Avesta y, which is used in some Pâzand MSS. as a medial, very easily assumes a form like 6.

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olaph. 𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭥 gabbem*â*, for 𐭣𐭥𐭱 gabb*â*, "the back". Ch. emph. 𐭣𐭥𐭫𐭠, for gres*â*, "the belly"; 𐭣𐭥𐭫 "gresh*â*, the belly". Ch. emph. krêsâ.

6. In six other Pahlavi words the final 𐭠 *â* represents either â, or âh, Semitic; these words are as follows;— 𐭠𐭱 anb*â*, "the grape". Ch. 'inbayâ (pl.) and 'anâbâh.' 𐭠𐭲 an*â*, "I" Ch. anâ and anâh. 𐭣𐭣𐭩𐭠 *dad*-m*â* (a hybrid form for *dad*-ic, "also a wild beast") meaning the jackal and perhaps others which follow in the Farhang. See 𐭣𐭠 m*â* below. 𐭤𐭠𐭫 leden*â*, "this"; see 𐭠𐭲 den*â* below. The preposition 𐭤 le, "to" seems to have no more effect upon the meaning of this Pahlavi demonstrative pronoun, than upon that of the personal pronouns in lî, lak, lanâ, lekûm. 𐭣𐭠 m*â*, "what, whatever, because, too". Ch. mâ and mâh. 𐭠𐭲 den*â*, "this". Ch. fem. denâ and denâh.

7. The Pahlavi 𐭠 *â* also occurs in three more crude verbs namely:—𐭣𐭥𐭣𐭠 medam*â*un, "to seem, consider". Ch. participle medammêh. 𐭩𐭠𐭱 yezb*â*un, "to desire, wish". Ch. yitsbehûn. 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭠 vishm*â*un, for yishm*â*un, "to hear". Ch. yishme'ûn. Where Pahl. 𐭠 represents êh, eh, and e', respectively.

8. Finally, there are two adverbs, in which the Pahl. 𐭠 *â* may represent either âh or ân; these are 𐭣𐭥𐭩 tam*â*, "there", and its negative 𐭤𐭥𐭩 latam*â*, "here". Ch. tammâh, or tammân.

9. The result of this investigation into the correct sound of the Pahlavi suffix 𐭠, appended to fifty-five Semitic words, or verbal roots, is that it represents the sound of â, âh, eh, êh, or e' in fifty-three words, and might be either âh or mân in the remaining two words. The modified equivalent *â* of the old Syriac *olaph* in the Sasanian alphabet, would sufficiently express all these sounds, except mân which affords the traditional 𐭠

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man one possibility out of two in only two words. From these facts it follows that the chances in favour of the sound *â* are fifty-four to one solitary chance of the sound *man*. And this solitary chance is completely neutralized by the facts, that the Sasanian letter *â* is very like an old Syriac *olaph*, and both its Chaldæo-Pahlavi equivalent and the MS. Pahlavi final  *â* are evidently merely cursive variations, of the Sasanian form. The progress of such variations, through intermediate forms, has even been clearly traced in a Pahlavi inscription on an engraved stone from Bagdâd (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 226).

10. The words ending with the modified *â* in the Inscriptions, so far as they have yet been noticed, are as follows:—In Sasanian Pahlavi: an*â*, "I"; ber*â*, "son"; benafsh*â*, "oneself"; tam*â*, "there"; hav*â*, "was"; hav*â*m, "I am"; val*â*, "that, he, she, it"; zen*â*, "this"; gad*â*, "glory"; lezen*â*, "to this"; lan*â*, "us"; rôêsh*â*, "head"; rigl*â*, "foot"; m*â*, "what"; nafsh*â*, "one's own"; and yed*â*, "the hand". In Chaldæo-Pahlavi: atr*â*, "the place", Ch. emph.; pen*â*, "facing, within"; tam*â*, "there"; hav*â*, "was"; zen*â*, "this"; m*â*, "what"; nafsh*â*, "one's own"; and qadmat*â*, "in presence of". Three of these Chaldæo-Pahlavi words have not been discovered in the MSS.; and the small number of words, found ending with *â* in the inscriptions, is due chiefly to scanty materials, as so much of the inscriptions is still illegible. The words on coins and gems are left unnoticed, as it is not desirable to assist the imitators of such documents.

11. The alphabet used in writing MS. Pahlavi contains only sixteen distinct letters, so that nine of them have more than one sound; on the other hand, some sounds are represented by more than one letter. Again, two of the letters can each be read as a compound of two others, so that they can both represent some fifteen sounds. If to these uncertainties we add the various abbreviated forms of compound letters, which ought to be made intelligible to the reader, we obtain some idea of the ordinary difficulties of a transliterator of Pahlavi, aris-

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ing from deficiency of alphabet; superfluity of representation, and abbreviated combination. Leaving most of these perplexities for future consideration, we may present the alphabet in a simple form, arranged in the Persian order, and using italics where the sound is not a normal representative of the letter, as follows:—

1. a (initial), â, kh, h, *zd*. 2. b. 3. p, f, *v*. 4. t, *d*. 5. j, *c*, *z*. 6. r, l. 7. z. 8. or s, . 9. sh, . 10. gh. 11. k. 12. m. 13. *r*, *l*, n, o, ô, û, v, w. 14. *r*, *l* (final). 15. d, j, g, y, î, ê. 16. *â*, mû, min.

12. All kinds of Pahlavi contain a mixture of Semitic and Iranian words, but their grammatical character is wholly Iranian. The proportion of the Semitic words to the Iranian varies, no doubt, according to the fancy of the writer: but it appears to have a tendency to diminish in the later writings, as may be seen from the following comparative statistics of characteristic passages, selected for examination. These are: first, the Chaldæo-Pahlavi version of the Hâjîâbâd inscription; second, the Sasanian version of the same; third, the Naqsh-i-Rustam Sasanian inscription; fourth, the Pahlavi Yasna, xxviii. 3-9; fifth, the Pahlavi Vendidad, i. 1-8; Sixth, Dâdistân-i Dênîk, i. 1-27; and seventh, Dênkard, VIII. xix. 1-65, as follows:—

Date.	Text examined.	Semitic words.	Iranian words.
A. D. 250	Ch. Hâj. Inscr.	69 per cent.	31 per cent.
„ „	Sas. Hâj. Inscr.	67 „	33 „
„ 290	N. R. Sas. Inscr.	52 „	48 „
„ 550	P. Yas. xxviii. 3-9.	54 „	46 „
„ „	P. Vend. i. 1-8.	52 „	48 „
„ 865	Dd. i. 1-27.	31 „	69 „
„ 900	Dk. VIII. xix. 1-65.	46 „	54 „

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13. From this statement it appears that the Semitic component of the Pahlavi had diminished from two-thirds to one-third of the text in the course of six centuries, while the Iranian component had increased from one-third to two-thirds. The reason for the apparent retrogression in the eighth book of the Dênkard is easily explained, as that book is really an epitome of much older versions of the Pahlavi Nasks, which had been revised by Âtûrpâd-î Mâraspendân about A.D. 350[1], and again in the time of Khusrô I[2]. The writer of this epitome would, no doubt, be much influenced by the language and style of one of these older documents, which would naturally lead him to use more Semitic words than were customary among his contemporaries.

14. The Persians not only borrowed two Semitic alphabets, but they also appear to have borrowed several of the commonest Semitic words, written with those alphabets, to use as logograms, instead of attempting to spell the common words of their own Iranian language with the borrowed alphabets. In the course of time, they had also corrupted the forms of some letters in certain Iranian words which they had learned to write with their Semitic alphabet, so that they could read these words, also, only as logograms. Both these classes of logograms they called *zvârish*, "archaism", an abstract noun derived from an old Persian verb *zuvârîdan*, "to grow old". In Persian this abstract noun is also written *uzvârish*, or *ûzvârish*, and in Pahlavi *aûzvârishn*; while *zvârân*, "growing old", occurs in *Bundahish*, xxviii, 38, and *aûzvârâno*, "decrepitudes", in *Zâd-sparam's Selections*, iv, 4.

15. There are, therefore, two kinds of *zvârish*: first, a Semitic *zvârish*, which is an archaism, purely Semitic, used as a

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[1] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXXVII, p. 415, and vol. XLVII, p. xxxvii.

[2] Probably after A.D. 528, when he destroyed the Mazdakites, before he became king.

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substitute for its Iranian equivalent; and, second, an Iranian *zvârish*, which is purely Iranian, but is either spelt in an obsolete manner, or has some of its letters habitually misshapen. To these two species we must, for the present, add a third whose origin is still more or less uncertain, owing to difficulty of identification and rare occurrence in the texts, but most of which will probably, in the end, be divided between the first two species.

16. The list of *zvârish* words with their *pâzand* meanings, which was drawn up several centuries ago, and is usually called the Pahlavi Farhang, or Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary, contains about 350 Semitic *zvârish*, 70 Iranian *zvârish*, and 140 uncertain *zvârish* forms, all explained by about 440 Pâzand words. This Farhang is very complete, and contains many more *zvârish* forms than have yet been found in the extant Pahlavi texts; while the additional *zvârish*, that has hitherto been discovered in the texts, seems confined to less than ten words, such as 𐭠𐭭𐭣 and*â*, "I"; 𐭫𐭩𐭱𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭩𐭲 libûshayâ, "clothes, covering"; 𐭦𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭥 zerîkûntano, "to sprinkle", Ch. zeraq; 𐭦𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭥 for 𐭩𐭦𐭫𐭩𐭭𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭥 yîplûnastano, "to fall", Ch. nepal; 𐭪𐭩𐭲𐭥 kâdmon, "primary, previous, original", Ch. qadmôn (Pâzand 𐭪𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭥 khâmîst, "most rudimentary"); 𐭩𐭲𐭥 for 𐭩𐭲𐭥 mîdat, "amount", Ch. middâh; 𐭩𐭲𐭥 nismô (perhaps abbreviated from 𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭠 nismâ) "the soul", Ch. nishmâ.

17. The oldest copy of the Pahlavi Farhang, which has been seen, was in the library of Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamaspasana twenty years ago, and was probably two or three centuries old. It has been fully described in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, vol. II. p. 120, and differs most from Dastur Dr. Hoshangji's edition in the headings to some of the chapters, which had already become confused with the text, by frequent interpolations of Pâzand synonyms, to explain the Pahlavi words. Thus, the heading of chapter XI was probably

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yûdân[1] *anshûtâ mardûm-ic rabâ zîvandag*, "young persons besides people of older life", beginning with *aîsh=kas*, "any one". While chapter XIV was probably the heading of chapter XV. as follows :—*Asûbârîh; madam hûnarân-î zag andar asûbâr rukhâr aêvar'j*, "horsemanship; a register about accomplishments which are those within the knowledge of a rider", beginning with *parashayâ=parashayâ*, "cavaliers". This oldest copy of the Farhang had lost most of chapter II and nearly all of the appendixes, which can, however, be all supplied from O 390, a manuscript more than a century old, belonging to the Ouseley Collection, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The version contained in these MSS. includes about a dozen more zvârish forms than there are in Hoshangji's edition.

18. After considering the nature and peculiarities of Pahlavi, any transliterator will have to adopt some definite rules for his own guidance, readily applicable to all the exceptional cases which he has already found in the course of his reading, or which he may expect to find in the future. The first general axiom to be recommended, for his attention, is that his transliteration should not only indicate the sounds intended, but also the letters used, so that any careful reader of the transliteration may be able to write out the actual text from the transcript. A second general axiom is that the short vowels, which are not indicated by the Pahlavi, should be supplied from the pronun-

[1] Some scholars think that there is only one Pahlavi 𐭩𐭥𐭱, namely *gûshn*, but this word only implies sexual perfection in either sex, though chiefly in the male. There is, however, decidedly a second word of the same form, corresponding with Persian *jawân*, applicable to both sexes, and meaning "youthful, or a youth". This second 𐭩𐭥𐭱 is a cursive form of an original 𐭩𐭥𐭲𐭱 yûbân, in which 𐭥 joins the following 𐭱, just as Persian *d*, *r*, *u* often join some letter which follows in MSS., although contrary to rule. This *cursive* change of 𐭥 into 𐭣 occurs in several other Pahlavi words, as we shall see in § 41, and 𐭩𐭥𐭱 always translates *yavan* in Pahlavi versions of the Avesta; it is also applied to both sexes in an anecdote, quoted from the sayings of Bakht-*âfrîd*, near the end of Dk. VI.

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ciation of the word in its original language. For the purpose of practising the first axiom, a third rule is requisite when the same sound is expressed by different letters; in such a case, the transliteration used should be italicized, when it is not the *normal* sound of the Pahlavi letter in the text. This third rule has been already illustrated by using Pahlavi *â* in §§ 3, 5-11, and other italics in § 11. As the use of italic *â* for an originally final Semitic 𐡀 (to which, however, Pahlavi suffixes may be added[1]) has been fully discussed, we may now pass on to further details and other italic letters.

19. As in Persian so in Pahlavi, the long vowels û and î hardly ever begin a word, and few more exceptions to this rule can be quoted now, than were mentioned twenty-seven years ago, in the *Ardâ-Vîrâf* introduction, p. xxxv. Only the following exceptional words have yet been noticed:— 𐭥𐭯𐭩𐭠𐭩𐭬𐭩 ûpayamishnîh, "compulsion"; 𐭥𐭯𐭲𐭠𐭩𐭯𐭲𐭥 ûtayûto, "violently"; 𐭥𐭯𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭱𐭩𐭱𐭩𐭬𐭩 ûzdahîshnîh, "uprising"; 𐭥𐭯𐭣𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭩𐭪 ûzdahînâk, "producing offerings"; 𐭥𐭣𐭥 êdo, "you are"; 𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭪 îstâdak, "stationary"; 𐭲𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭠𐭲𐭮𐭠𐭮𐭮 Isadvâstar; 𐭲𐭠𐭱𐭩𐭥 îshto, "coveted"; and 𐭲 în, "this". These long initial vowels ought to have been preceded by 𐭠 (a), as in Persian, where this initial (a) is not pronounced. But, as the transliterator has to indicate every letter, he must write aû, aô, aî, or aê at the beginning of such words. Sometimes both forms are in use, as when 𐭩𐭰𐭥 yazishno is also written 𐭠𐭩𐭰𐭩𐭥 aîzishno[2], but here two different pronunciations are intended which the transliterations clearly express, though only approximating to the sound of the latter word. Other common examples of this initial (a) are found in the following words:—𐭠𐭪𐭪 aôjô, "strength"; 𐭠𐭥𐭪 aûrvar, "a plant"; 𐭠𐭱𐭪 aôsh, "death"; aûsh,

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1 As in 𐭧𐭠𐭥𐭪 havâm, "I am"; 𐭣𐭧𐭠𐭪 havâd, "they are"; 𐭪𐭠𐭲𐭩𐭯𐭲𐭥 nafshâân, "one's own people"; 𐭲𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭩𐭯𐭲𐭥 nafshâîh, "ownership"; 𐭲𐭠𐭯𐭲𐭣𐭩𐭲𐭥 nêshâîh, "wedlock"; &c.

2 The vowel preceding the *z* is italicized to indicate that 𐭩 is an abbreviated form of 𐭣𐭩, as will be explained in §§ 32,33.

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"dawn"; 𐬀𐬌𐬙 aîto, "there is"; 𐬌 aêgh, "thus, that, where"; 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬙 aêrpat, "priest"; 𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬴 aêvako, "one"; âînako, "custom"; &c.

20. Regarding the optional final 𐬀 (o) which can be added to any word that would otherwise end with 𐬀 n, 𐬙 t, 𐬴 k, 𐬯 p, f, or 𐬘 c, j, there is little to add to what was stated in the *Ardâ-Vîrâf* introduction, pp. xxxviii—xli. Before editing the Pahlavi text of the *Ardâ-Vîrâf nâmak* in 1871, Professor Martin Haug carefully reconsidered the transliteration of this optional final, which had been represented by (u) and traced to an Assyrian suffix, in the introductions to the Glossaries. Being present, I objected to this identification, but we both agreed that this optional final 𐬀 was a vowel, either u or o, equivalent to the final î added to many words in Sasanian Pahlavi, and that it probably represented some indistinct short vowel sound, resembling that which is inherent in all the consonants of Indian languages. After some consideration, Prof. Haug suggested that a short ŏ, distinguished by the prosodial symbol of brevity, might be suitable, to which I assented and have ever since used that symbol; but a simple short o is sufficient, as its position, at the end of a word, explains the nature of the sound. Where, however, it may reprsent an ô or âo in an original language, it should be written ô.

21. If Haug had lived till 1887, he would have been delighted to read a confirmation of his suggestion, in Dr. M. A. Stein's *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins*, published in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. I. pp. 155-166[1]. These coins supply a dozen names of Zoroastrian Yazatas in Greek uncials, each name ending with the shorter Greek O, which letter is also used to express the Avesta *v*, *h*, and *th*. But the forms of the names are Pahlavi, such as one would hardly expect to be as old as the first century A.D., the period usually assigned to the Indo-Scythic kings whose names these coins also bear. Thus, one of the Yazatas is Oado for Pahlavi Vâdo.

[1] Reprinted in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, pp. 89-98. (1888).

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22. A similar optional final existed in Sasanian Pahlavi, but it was the vowel î, or ê, which has been found frequently added to t, r, k, n, and more seldom to p, h, d, v, s, sh, g, *r*, and the abstract suffix îh, in such words as râstî, "true"; citarî, "offspring"; bûkhtakî, "saved"; Aharmanî; napî, "grandson"; Narsahî, Aûharmazdî, dûshahvî, "hell"; gâsî, "place"; âtashî, "fire"; bagî, "divine"; kâmkârî, "predominant"; and râstîhî, "truth". In no case is this Sasanian final î an abstract suffix, but this suffix is -îh, or -îhî; hence the MS. Pahlavi abstract suffix -ﻭ is to be read -îh. The same optional final î is more sparingly used in Chaldæo-Pahlavi, as in shîtî, "target"; havindî, "was", (but here it is probably the conditional suffix ê, and havindê means "would be"); berî, "son"; and âkasî, "aware".

23. Whether the old Pahlavi final î, or ê, has become the MS. Pahlavi final o, or ô, by change of sound, or merely by continuity of form, is not quite certain. When the final seems to represent an original Avesta ô, or âo, the change of sound is clear; but we have to recollect that the final î in Chaldæo-Pahlavi is of precisely the same form as the final ﻭ (o) in MS. Pahlavî, so there is a continuity of form; and we might argue (as in the case of the suffix ﻩ *â*, §§ 4-9) that the sound of this ﻭ ought to be î, or ê. But we likewise find that the Chaldæo-Pahlavi ﻭ also stands for the sounds y and z. Again, the Chaldæo-Pahlavi letter v, û, ô is shaped like the Sasanian î, ê; and the two Sasanian letters r, v, û, ô and n have changed into the one MS. Pahlavi letter ﻭ n, v, û, ô, o, *r*, *l*. So the connection of these letters is much too complex to allow of any certain opinion being formed as to their actual relationship.

24. One of the most common eccentricities of MS. Pahlavi is the use of the letter ﻭ (usually v, or n) for the sound of *r*, or *l*. In Sasanian Pahlavi one letter represents v, û, ô, and r; a second letter stands for l, and a third for n; but the title *malkân malkâ*, on the coins of the first Sasanian monarch, was often spelt *markân markâ*, indicating some confusion in the use of the two letters l and r even in those early times. During the

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gradual change of the Sasanian into the MS. alphabet, the two letters, representing v, û, r, and n, both became ; while the Sasanian l became MS. which now represents both l and r. It is easy to see how these complicated changes might lead to the sound of *r* sometimes remaining with its original representative letter, which had become the of the MSS. But, as is not the normal representative of r, it must be indicated by italic *r*, as in the following examples, which might be easily increased in number :— khamr*â*, "the ass"; Aûhar-maz*d*, as was first pointed out by Westergaard (improving upon a suggestion made by Oppert) in the preface to his Zend-avesta, p. 20, n. 2; bar*â*, "but, without, besides"; ber*atâ*, "daughter"; ber*â*, "son"; bî*r*akh, "month" (Ch. lit. "in the month"), Sas. inscriptions at Persepolis; fr*âz*, "forth, forwards"; farzand, "child"; para*s*hayâ, "cavalry"; farzand, "child"; tô*r*â, "the ox"; zerapom*â* for ge*r*abon*â*, "debt, or loan"; sardâr, "leader"; shit*r*â, "boundary, precinct", Pahl. Vd. IX, 120, 133, 137; shat*r*ô, "district"; kar*d*ano, "to do, make"; mah*r*ô-hîst, "utterance of text"; mara*n*â, "lord"; mara*n*tâ, "lady"; gab*r*â, "man"; dapî*r*, "writer"; dapî*r*îh, "writing"; ga*r*mak, "hot bread".

25. As the MS. Pahlavi is used for both l and r, so the MS. Pahlavi *r* is also sometimes used for *l*, as in pe*l*ag, "half"; gha*l*, "to"; gam*l*â, "camel"; all three being Chaldee words.

26. In a few Semitic words a modified form of r, l is used as a final letter, and should be indicated by italic *r*, or *l*. These words are akha*r*, "after"; a*l*, "don't"; ze*g*a*r*, "male"; mekhâ*r*, "to-morrow"; and va*l*, "to". This final can, however, have suffixes added to it, as in akha*r*îh, "the sequel"; akha*r*ash, "after him"; zega*r*âno, "males"; and zega*r*îh, "the male sex".

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27. An initial ן v sometimes represents a Semitic *'ain*, or *aleph*, both which letters are considered more, or less, guttural consonants by the Arabs, who are the best existing judges of their sounds; and, as the international Oriental v indicates much the same sound as the English w, it represents these Semitic consonants better than the vowel o would do; besides, we have seen, in § 19, that a Pahlavi o must not begin a word, but ought to have the vowel ـــ (a) prefixed. In the following words ן v is used to express the Semitic *'ain*:— ן vebrûntano, "to pass away", Ch. 'abar; ן vebêdûntano, for ן vebêdûntano, "to do, make", Ch. 'abad; ן val, "to", Ch. 'al; ן varêkûntano, "to flee", Ch. 'araq; ן vad, "till, while", Ch. 'ad. And in the following, ן v expresses *aleph*:— ן vekhdûntano, "to take", Ch. akhad; ן vezlûntano, "to go", Ch. azal; ן vishtamûntano, "to eat", Ch. te'am; ן vishmâuntano, to hear", Ch. shema'.

28. Other representatives of the Semitic *'ain* are ع gh in ع ghal, "to",=kal in Chaldæo-Pahlavi, Ch. 'al; ז z in ז zerapomâ, "debt, or loan", Heb. 'erâbôn; and perhaps ד d in ד madam, "on, about", if this word be identified with Ch. mê'im, though apparently *madam* in the Sasanian Pahlavi inscriptions. With regard to the reading z it should be noticed that ז may be merely a cursive form of ג, as a similar instance of ז zan appearing where we might expect ג gan, occurs in the word ז zanabâ, "the thief", which is correctly written ג ganabâ in Dk. VIII. xxi, 1 (see the old Iranian MS. folio 348 b near the top). The two dots of the g easily become a cursive circumflex which soon joins the top of the letter in successive copies.

29. Hitherto we have been chiefly attending to the Semitic *zvârish*, but we must now turn to the Iranian *zvârish* which has been defined, in § 15, as that part of the Iranian component of the Pahlavi that has become, more or less, altered in form by

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copyists, in the course of transmission from ancient times. Or we may attribute its peculiarities to the survival of ancient forms. One common peculiarity is the division of an Avesta, or Persian, medial v into the two letters ûb, or ôb, as if to point out the etymology of the word in some cases, or to represent the two portions of the Avesta » v in others. Thus we find the following words in common use:— aharûbo, "righteous"; asûbâr, "rider"; aûstûbâr, "reliant"; tûbâno, "capable, opulent"; rûbâno, "soul"; dâtôbar, "a judge"; mozdôbar, "labourer"; dastôbar, "high-priest"; gôbishno, "speech"; ganjôbar, "treasurer".

30. A final Iranian -و s in Pahlavi usually becomes h in Persian, as will be noticed in nearly all the following words:— afrâs, "raising"; asporâs, "race-course"; âkâs, "aware"; -ی râs, "path, road"; -و gâs, "time, place, seat"; -و kis, "small"; -ج mis, "great"; -و nikâs, "a look"; -و vinâs, "sin". Such words take nearly all suffixes without changing the final form of the -و s; as in afrâsîh, "elevation"; -و-و-و âkâsîh, "intelligence"; -و-و-و-ص âkâstûm, "most intelligent"; -و-و-ی râsdâr, "highwayman"; -و-و-ی gâsîhâ, "periods"; -و-و kisîh, "littleness"; -و-و misîh, "greatness"; -و-و-و vinâsîh, "sinfulness". But before the plural suffix ـ ân the final -و s often changes *into* the medial ـد s.

31. Other Iranian zvârish words are hâvishtô, "disciple"; yêd, "if" Av. yêdhi; az, "ox", Av. azi; ak-barîd, "one stage", &c. hakerico, hakôrico, "always", "Av. hakered+cid; ameshôspend, a contraction of ameshôspend; Aûharmazd (the

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final ـس = ـذ = ـد); hêmôgîn, hamòkun, "every kind, same kind"; brâdar, "brother", has probably passed through the two stages and into which, however, has not yet been found in any text; tak, tag, "brave, mighty"; citar, "nature, face, Av. cithra; rûdastâk, "a cultivated district"; zreh, zrayah, "ocean, sea", Av. zrayanh; stîh, stîh, styîh, "worldly existence", Av. sti and gaêthya; zîvâk, "place, lit. *living* place"; sardâr, "leader"; yazdâno, "sacred beings", (the medial ـس = ـذ = ـد); yézatô, "a sacred being", (the medial ـس = ـز = ـژ); shatrô "urban district", Av. shôithra; shatrôyâr, "sovereign"; katas, "stream, channel" mahrôlîst, "utterance of texts"; magôpat, "priest"; mînôg, "spirit"; magavag, "magian"; nivêk, "announcement of prayer"; dapîr, "a writer"; dapîrîh, "writer's work"; Garôdmânô; dûshahû, dûshahvô, "hell"; yûbân, "young"; garmak, "hot bread."

32. In these lists of Iranian *zvârish* words it will have been noticed that several letters have been italicized, and it is now necessary to state precisely the rules which regulate the use of these italics. The letters which are not italicized are intended to have the same sound in all situations, the consonants like the average English pronunciation, as modified by the international Oriental alphabet, and the vowels as in the principal Indian languages, the long vowels being circumflexed. When a letter is italic it means either that its sound is represented by some other letter, not its *normal* representative, or that its shape has been abbreviated in forming a compound with another letter. When the abbreviated letter is already italicized, the preceding short vowel should be also italicized to indicate the abbreviation, or an apostrophe should be introduced between the two conso-

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nants when no short vowel sound intervenes. Hyphens can be used both to connect the components of compound words, which are often written separately, and also to separate words that are written together in the text. As the letter *c* stands for the sound of ch in "church", which is not its normal pronunciation, it is always an italic *c*. The normal letter for r and l being 𐭫, italic *r* and *l* must be used whenever their sounds are represented by 𐭩 or 𐭬. Similarly, 𐭣 is the normal d, and 𐭤 is an exceptional, or italic, *d*. And *zd*, *éz* are italics because they are not normal sounds of 𐭦. Again, in the compound 𐭮𐭯 *sp* the *p* is abbreviated and therefore italic; the full compound would be 𐭮𐭩𐭯 sp; in the compound 𐭱 *shô*, 𐭦 is an abbreviation of 𐭮𐭦 sh, and must therefore be represented by *sh*; and in the compound 𐭫𐭪 *ric* the 𐭪 *c* is abbreviated, but being already an italic, the preceding vowel must be italicized.

33. The extent to which this system of using italics must be carried, to effect its purpose, will be best understood by inspecting the various sounds of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet, normal and exceptional, and of the contracted compounds in ordinary use, as collected in the following lists which register the great majority of the italic letters necessary for useful transliteration :—

PAHLAVI ALPHABET. 𐭠 𐭦 a *(initial and privative)*, â, h, kh, éz, zd. 𐭡 2, a *(privative)*, â, aé, âé *(final)*, h *(final)*. 𐭢 b. 𐭥 f, p, v. 𐭤 d, t. 𐭪 c, j, z. 𐭫 l, r. 𐭰 z. 𐭮 or 𐭧 s, 𐭣+𐭮. 𐭮𐭩 sh, 𐭣+𐭮𐭩, g-a, î-a, î-h. 𐭲 gh. 𐭣 k. 𐭬 m. 𐭩 *l*, n, ô, o, *r*, û, v. 𐭬 *l*, *r*. 𐭣 *b*, d, ê, g, î, j, *ja*, y, 1. 𐭢 l, *é*.

CONTRACTED AND IRREGULAR COMPOUNDS. 𐭡𐭩 ayâ. 𐭤𐭫(𐭦+𐭥, or 𐭦+𐭪) *ac*, *aec*, *af*, *aj*, *ap*, *ar*, *az*, *âc*, *âf*, *âj*, *âp*,

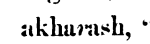
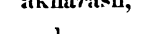
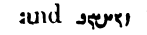
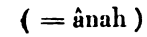
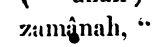
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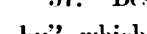
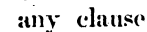
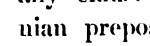
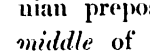
âc, *âz*, *hac*, *haf*, *hap*, *haz*, *khaf*, *khaj*, *khap*, *khec*, *khef*, *khz*. âñ. 3, a*é*, â*é*, (*final*), ê*h* (final). *a*dîn, *b*êdû. l*p*, ra*j*, ra*z*, r*ic*, r'j, r*p*, r'z. *sac*, sa*j*, sa*p*, dî*f*, dî*p*, gî*f*, si*j*, si*p*, s*p*. shc, *yâf*, *yâv*. m-*é*. da*j*, d-*c*, *êc*, *êj*, *éz*, *yac*, gaj, guj, *îc*, *îv*, *îz*, *yaz*, *yez*. *bên*, yên.

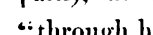
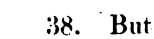
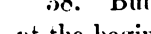
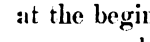
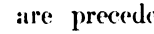
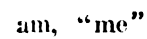
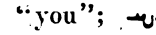
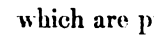
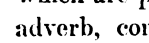
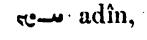
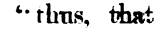
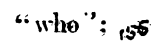
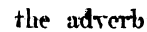
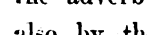
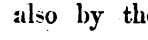
34. There is yet another species of *zvârish* in common use, but of limited extent, which is a mixture of Semitic and Iranian components in the same word. Strictly speaking, all the grammatical inflections of Semitic verbs and nouns in Pahlavi are Iranian; but in this mixed Semitic and Iranian *zvârish*, the Iranian element goes farther. Thus, abû = pî*d*, "father", becomes  abî*d*ar =  pî*d*ar, "father";  am =  mâ*d*, "mother" becomes amû*d*ar =  mâ*d*ar, "mother"; ber*â* =  pûs, "son", becomes  ber*â*r, =  pûsar, "son";  ber*a*tâ =  dûkht, "daughter", becomes ber*a*târ = dûkhtar, "daughter";  akh =  brâ*d*, "brother", becomes (?) =  brâ*d*ar, "brother"; and  akhatâ = Pers. khwah, "sister", becomes  akhatâr = Pers. khwahar, "sister". In all six cases the additional syllable, *d*ar or ar, added to the Semitic *zvârish* is Iranian; and it may be noticed that the plural form  abî*d*arâno can be used in the sense of "forefathers, ancestors".

35. When the words  ,  , , ,  , occur at the *beginning* of any clause of a sentence, they are mixed *zvârish*, consisting of the Semitic conjunction *af*, "also, and", with the Iranian personal suffixes appended, and meaning "also by me, and by us, &c." In any other part of the sentence, similar words are purely Iranian, consisting of the preposition *a*j, "from", with the same suffixes appended; and, in this case, the Semitic  min is often substituted for the Iranian  *a*j, and then the forms become mixed zvârish.

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36. The following words also seem to be mixed *zvârish* :—  *dad*-i matâ, "wild beast of the province", meaning "the bear"; and  *dad*-mâ=*dad*-*ic*, "also a wild beast", applied to "the wolf or jackal" apparently. Likewise,  zegarîh, "the male sex";  akharîh, "the sequel", and akharash, "after him";  shemag, for nâmak, "an epistle"; and  vidanâânag=vidanâ (Ch. 'idanâ=Pers. zamân)+ânag (=ânah) which, added together, make Pers. zamânânah, for zamânah, "time, period", (see Dk. VIII. xxxv, 6; IX. xvii, 3).

37. Besides the Iranian preposition  *aj*, "from, out of, by", which can append any of the Iranian suffixes of the three persons, singular or plural, but cannot occur at the *beginning* of any clause in a sentence, as stated in § 35, there are other Iranian prepositions similarly used with personal suffixes in the *middle* of a clause, such as  aûb (Av. ava) and  (Av. paiti), as in  aûbash, "to or for him";  padash, "through him, in his, for it".

38. But it is most usual for the personal suffixes to appear at the beginning of a clause, either independently, when they are preceded merely by the vowel  (a), in the forms am, "me";  amâno, "us";  at, "thee";  atâno, "you";  ash, "him, her, it"  ashâno, "them"; which are purely Iranian; or else, they are appended to some adverb, conjunction, or relative pronoun, such as the Semitic  adîn, or  *a*dîn, "then";  amat, "when"; aêgh, "thus, that is";  ayûf, "or";  zî, "which";  mûn, "who"; mâ, "even, also, since";  vad, "until, so that". Sometimes the enclitic  *ic*, "also, even", interposes between the adverb and personal suffix, as in  amat-*ic*-at, "when also by thee";  amat-*ic*-ash, "even when of it". All these compounds are specimens of mixed *zvârish*. There are also similar compounds, occurring in the middle of a clause,

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which are mixed, such as 𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰 akharash, "behind him"; 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯 pavanash, "in its"; 𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬵 levatâshâno, "with them". Where the adverb, preposition, or conjunction is Iranian, the compound is purely Iranian, such as compounds of the personal suffixes with 𐬬𐬀𐬴 yêd, "if"; 𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬎 cîgûn, "because, according to, as though"; and with 𐬀𐬐𐬎 cand, "so far as".

39. In a few instances two personal suffixes are appended to the same adverb, for the purpose of referring to two separate facts or persons mentioned in the sentence. Only five occurrences of such double suffixes have been noticed, which are as follows:— 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬰 adînashash, "then him for it", in Mainyô-i Khirad, xxviii, 9; "then its thereby", in Shikand-gûmânî, viii, 127; and "then him through his", in Sg. x, 11; also 𐬛𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬰 adînasham, "then its by me", in Sg. viii, 39; and 𐬎𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵 adînash-shâno, "then its for them", in Mkh. vii, 19. These rare forms have all been misrepresented by Nêryôsang.

40. The infinitive suffix of a Semitic *zvârish* verb is usually the same as that of its Pâzand equivalent, whether 𐬌𐬀𐬙—tano, 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬙—astano, or 𐬌𐬀𐬛—âdano; but 𐬌𐬀𐬙—tano is also substituted for Pâzand 𐬌𐬀𐬛—dano. The Pahlavi Farhang does not always give the infinitive suffix as it appears in old MSS. It should also be noticed that the termination 𐬌𐬱𐬎—îtûn, of a certain class of crude Semitic verbs, is 𐬌𐬱𐬎—îtun in most Iranian MSS., as it is also in the Sasanian inscriptions. Another matter which requires further investigation is the meaning of the circumflex in 𐬛̂. It is usually supposed to indicate the sound of d in all situations, but in many cases it is used where all other evidence indicates î, or ê, even in the most trustworthy MSS.

41. Appended is a revision of the list of transliterations which was added to Hoshangji's and Haug's edition of the Pahlavi Farhang in 1870:—

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akhtar, "constellation". aharâyîh, "righteousness". aharmôk, "apostate". Aharmanô, "evil spirit". aharûbo (Av. ashava), "righteous". *kh*efrûntano, "to dig, uproot"; *kh*ezrûntano, "to reap". yêd, "if"; at, "by thee". khetyâ, "arrow"; yêdash, "if by it". khetêmûntano, "to end, finish". alpûntano, "to learn"; alepûntano, "to teach". khalbâ, "milk". khelkûntano, "to allot". khelmûntano, "to sleep". khazurâ, for khazîrâ, "pig". khazîtûntano, "to see". aîyyârîh? "assistance". khadîtûntano, "to see". khadîyâ, "besom". adîno, *a*dîno, "then". khayâ, "life". khamarâ, khama*r*â, "the ass". hanâ, "this". hinkhitûntano, "to place". aûbênô, Av. avaênô, "unobservant, heedless". anpâ, "the face". khavîtûntano, "to know". avênâk, "not looking". aîto, "there is". aîsh, "any one". aêgh, "thus, that is". aêmat, "when?". hêmnunastano, "to believe". aêvak, "one". aînâ, "the eye, fountain". bâên, Ch. bên, "within, into"; =בין. beshlûntano, "to cook". bar*a*, "but, except, besides". benafshâ, "oneself". berat*i*, "daughter". ber*a*, "son". bêrâ, "the well". bîrakh, "month". frâz, "forth, onwards". parashayâ, "cavaliers". pelag, "half". *d*ahabâ, "gold". tekhnuntano, "to grind". tebrûnastano, "to break". tarbâ, "fat, grease". teklûntano,

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"to weigh". 𐎲𐎼𐎢 tôrâ, "ox". 𐎲𐎭 tanê, "another, secondly". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 cîgûn, "as, because, how". 𐎡 li, "to me, my, I". 𐎡𐎢𐎲 lakhmâ, "bread". 𐎡𐎢𐎼 lakhvâr, "to the rear, back, again". 𐎡𐎢𐎶 for libbayâ? "hearts". 𐎡𐎢𐎭 latamâ, "here". 𐎡𐎢 lecad, "to the side of, towards". 𐎡𐎢 lecadôn, "across, throughout". 𐎡 lak, "to thee, thy, thou". 𐎡𐎢 lekûm, "to you, yours, you". 𐎡𐎢𐎲 ramkâ, "the mare". 𐎡𐎢𐎭 levatâ, "with". 𐎡𐎢 levalmin, 𐎡𐎢 leyalmin, "eternal". 𐎡𐎢 lanâ, "to us, our, we". 𐎡 lîc, "I too". 𐎡𐎢 riglâ, "the foot, or leg". 𐎡𐎢 for 𐎡𐎢𐎶 cadigâ, "true, certain"; Ch. tsadîqâ. 𐎡𐎢𐎲𐎶𐎢 lîshûntano, "to knead". 𐎡𐎢 ledenâ, "to this, this". 𐎡𐎢𐎲𐎢 ledenâshân, "te these, these". 𐎲𐎢𐎲 zahabâ, "gold". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 zamrûntano, "to sing". 𐎲𐎢 = 𐎲𐎢 ganabâ, "the thief". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 zerapomâ for gerabonâ, "debt or loan". 𐎲𐎢𐎼 saryâ, "evil, bad". 𐎲𐎢𐎼 sardâr, "leader". 𐎲𐎢𐎲 shêdâ, "demon". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yazdâno, "sacred beings". 𐎲𐎢𐎲 dahabâ, "gold". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yehabûntano, "to give". 𐎲𐎢 shap, "night". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 dâd-i mas, "of great age". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yézatô, "sacred being". 𐎲𐎢 shatrô, "province" 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yâtûntano, "to come". 𐎲𐎢𐎼 shatrôyâr, "monarch". 𐎲𐎢𐎼 shalîtâ, "predominant". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yakhsenuntano, "to have". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yehamtûntano, "to arrive, come". 𐎲𐎢 dânak, "grain". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yehvûntano, "to be". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 yehêtyûntano, "to bring". 𐎲 ghal (kal in Chaldæo-Pahlavi), "to". 𐎲𐎢𐎲 karmâ, "vineyard". 𐎲𐎢 kolâ, "every". 𐎲𐎢𐎼 kavâras, "a fish". 𐎲𐎢𐎲 kardano, "to do, make". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 karîtuntano, "to call, invoke". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 kîlûntano, "to measure". 𐎲𐎢𐎶 makhîtuntano, "to strike". 𐎲𐎢 Mitrô. 𐎲𐎢 milayâ,

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"to weigh". 𐡕𐡅𐡓𐡀 tôrâ, "ox". 𐡕𐡍𐡀 tanê, "another, secondly". 𐡒𐡂𐡅𐡍 cîgûn, "as, because, how". 𐡋 li, "to me, my, I". 𐡋𐡇𐡌𐡀 lakhmâ, "bread". 𐡋𐡇𐡅𐡓 lakhvâr, "to the rear, back, again". 𐡋𐡁𐡉𐡀 for libbayâ? "hearts". 𐡋𐡕𐡌𐡀 latamâ, "here". 𐡋𐡏 lecal, "to the side of, towards". 𐡋𐡃 lecadôn, "across, throughout". 𐡊 lak, "to thee, thy, thou". 𐡋𐡊𐡅𐡌 lekûm, "to you, yours, you". 𐡓𐡌𐡊𐡀 ramkâ, "the mare". 𐡋𐡅𐡈𐡀 levatâ, "with". 𐡋𐡏𐡋𐡌𐡉𐡍 levalmin, 𐡋𐡉𐡋𐡌𐡉𐡍 leyalmin, "eternal". 𐡋𐡀𐡍𐡀 lanâ, "to us, our, we". 𐡋𐡉𐡀 lîc, "I too". 𐡓𐡂𐡋𐡀 riglâ, "the foot, or leg". 𐡊𐡃𐡅𐡒 for 𐡆𐡃𐡂𐡀 cadigâ. "true, certain"; Ch. tsadîqâ. 𐡋𐡔𐡄𐡅𐡕𐡍𐡕𐡅 lîshûntano, "to knead". 𐡋𐡃𐡀 ledenâ, "to this, this". 𐡋𐡃𐡀𐡔𐡄𐡀𐡍 ledenâshân, "te these, these". 𐡆𐡄𐡁𐡀 zahabâ, "gold". 𐡆𐡌𐡓𐡅𐡕𐡍𐡕𐡅 zamrûntano, "to sing". 𐡂𐡍𐡁𐡀 = 𐡂𐡍𐡁 ganabâ, "the thief". 𐡆𐡄𐡓𐡐𐡀 zerapomâ for gerabonâ, "debt or loan". 𐡎𐡓𐡉𐡀 saryâ, "evil, bad". 𐡎𐡀𐡓𐡃𐡀𐡓 sardâr, "leader". 𐡔𐡄𐡉𐡃𐡀 shêdâ, "demon". 𐡉𐡆𐡃𐡀𐡍𐡀 yazdâno, "sacred beings". 𐡃𐡄𐡁𐡀 dahabâ, "gold". 𐡉𐡄𐡅𐡁𐡅𐡕𐡍𐡕𐡅 yehabûntano, "to give". 𐡔𐡐 shap, "night". 𐡃𐡀𐡃𐡉 mas dâd-i, "of great age". 𐡉𐡆𐡆𐡀𐡕𐡀 yêzatô, "sacred being". 𐡔𐡈𐡓𐡐𐡀 shatrô, "province" 𐡉𐡀𐡕𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 yâtûntano, "to come". 𐡔𐡈𐡓𐡉𐡀𐡋 shatrôyâr, "monarch". 𐡔𐡋𐡉𐡕𐡀 shalîtâ, "predominant". 𐡉𐡇𐡎𐡍𐡅𐡕𐡍𐡕𐡅 yakhsenuntano, "to have". 𐡉𐡄𐡌𐡕𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 yehamtûntano, "to arrive, come". 𐡃𐡀𐡍𐡀𐡒 dânak, "grain". 𐡉𐡄𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 yehvûntano, "to be". 𐡉𐡄𐡉𐡕𐡉𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 yehêtyûntano, "to bring". 𐡂 ghal (kal in Chaldæo-Pahlavi), "to". 𐡊𐡓𐡌𐡀 karmâ, "vineyard". 𐡊𐡅𐡋 kolâ, "every". 𐡊𐡅𐡋𐡅𐡓𐡀𐡎 kavâras, "a fish". 𐡊𐡅𐡓𐡃𐡍𐡅 kardano, "to do, make". 𐡊𐡅𐡓𐡉𐡕𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 karîtuntano, "to call, invoke". 𐡊𐡋𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 kîlûntano, "to measure". 𐡌𐡊𐡉𐡕𐡅𐡍𐡕𐡅 makhîtuntano, "to strike". 𐡌𐡕𐡓 Mitrô. 𐡌𐡉𐡋𐡀 milayâ,

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"words, statement". 𐬨𐬀𐬥 mûn, "who, which". 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬭𐬀 maranâ, "the lord". 𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀 marantâ, "the lady". 𐬨𐬀𐬥 mindavam, "something". 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 vabêdo, "servant". 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 vebêdûntano, "to do, make". 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 neflûnastano, "to fall". 𐬯𐬀 val, "to, for, at". 𐬯𐬀𐬊 valâ, "he, him, she, her, it, that". 𐬯𐬀𐬊𐬱𐬀𐬥𐬀 valâshâno, "those, they, them". 𐬯𐬀𐬊𐬱𐬌𐬥𐬀 vazlûntano, "to go". 𐬯𐬌𐬉 neked, "female". 𐬜𐬀𐬫𐬀 gabrâ, "the man". 𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 yetîbûnastano, "to sit". 𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬀 yarkâ, "greens". 𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 yektelûntano, "to kill". 𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬀 yektîbûntano, "to write". 𐬌𐬐𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 yekavîmûnâdano, "to remain, stand". 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 yêmaldûntano, "to speak, say". 𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 yemîtûntano, "to die". 𐬛𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬉 dûbshayâ, for Ch. dûbshâ, "honey". 𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬥𐬀 danpekûntano, "to strike, beat". 𐬛𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬉 dûshahû, 'hell'. 𐬛𐬀 denâ, "this". 𐬠𐬌 bên, = 𐬠𐬌𐬎 bâên, "within, into".

42. Any one who objects to aîyyâr, as a transliteration of 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬬 "assistant, friend", will find that he has to explain at least two other occurrences of this strange zvârish form 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌 in the words 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬨 and 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬛. Surely, any correct explanation must apply to all three words and their numerous derivatives.

43. The words quoted in § 41, together with those cited in other parts of this essay, will afford sufficient examples of the system of transliteration which I venture to suggest to my good friends, Mr. K. R. Cama and others, as likely to be useful for solving the complicated problem of making Pahlavi intelligible, both to reader and writer, if it be judiciously carried out. The Parsis have really much reason to be grateful to Mr. Cama for his strenuous endeavours to interest them in the study of their ancient religion and literature. But if I have been able to do

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anything towards rendering their old Pahlavi literature more intelligible to them, it has been chiefly owing to the kindness and liberality of Parsis themselves, who have allowed me to copy and collate their scarce and valuable MSS. When we seniors pass away, it will be a satisfaction to know that we leave behind us many younger men well qualified to extend and improve our work, as they have already sufficiently proved.

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Text and German Trans. by Markwart in Mech. Memorial Volume pp. 742-755.

THE DAY KHORDÂD OF THE MONTH FARVARDIN COMMONLY CALLED KHORDÂDSÂL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PAHLAVI TEXT BY DASTOOR KAIKHOSHROO JÂMÂSPJI JÁMÁSP ASÁNÁ.

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1 The righteous Zartosht asked Auharmazd: "Why is the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin regarded great, good and more precious than other days by men?"

2 Auharmazd replied: "Oh Spitama Zarathushtra, on the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin I created the soul of the worldly creatures."

3 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, the Âryan and non-Âryan seed appeared.

4 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Gayomart[1] appeared in this world.

5 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Gayomart slew Arzûr.[2]

6 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Mahrîh[3] and Mahriânîh[3] grew up from the ground.

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[1] Avesta "Gaya Maretan", the first man, and the first Peshdâdian king who ruled 30 years according to Firdusi.

[2] According to Minokherad 27 § 15, one advantage from Gayomard was the slaying of Arezur. He was the son of Ahriman. The name is taken from Av. "Arezurahe griva" (the ridge of Arezur) which is the haunt of demons lying at the gate of hell. According to the Bundehesh. Mount Arezur is in the direction of Arûm (Asia Minor).

[3] Otherwise written Mâshya and Mâshyôî, the first human pair.

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7 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Hoshang,[4] the Peshdâd appeared in this world.

8 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Takhmurap[5] made the wicked Aharman his steed for 30 years.

9 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Jam[6] made this world immortal and undecaying.[7]

10 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Jam brought out the proportion[8] from Hell and it appeared in this world.

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4 The second king of the Peshdâdian dynasty. He was, according to the Bundehesh, the son of Fravâk, son of Siyâkmak, son of Mâshya, son of Gayomart. He ruled 40 years. He is called Pêshdâd, Av. Paradhâta (the early law-giver), which term is explained in Pahlavi Vendidâd XX thus:—The early law was this, that he first established the law of sovereignty.

5 Tehmuras, son of Vivanghân. He was the third king of the Peshdâdian dynasty who ruled 30 years. He is called by Firdusi "Deobund" cf. Râm Yasht §12: "Grant me this, O you Vayu!.....that I may ride Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth, from one end to the other, for 30 years."

6 Jamshid, the fourth king of the Peshdâdian dynasty, the Yama-Khshaeta of the Avesta; called Hvânthwa (of good flock) in Av. and 'Hu-rameh' by Firdusi. He had the awful divine glory which departed from him when he disobeyed Auharmazd. According to the Bd., he reigned, till his glory departed, 616 years and 6 months and after that he was 100 years in concealment. He was sawed in twain by Spityura his brother and Zohâk (cf. Zamyâd Yt. §46).

7 Cf. Minokherad 27§25:—"An immortality of 600 years, 6 months, and 16 days is provided by him for the creatures and creation of every kind of the creator Auharmazd."

8 Cf. MK. 27§33 "He brought back the proportion of the worldly existences which that evil producing wicked one had swallowed from his belly." West has the following note on this passage in his translation of MK:—"According to a legend preserved in the Persian Rivâyats, Aharman, while kept as a charger by Takhmorap, induced the wife of the latter to ascertain from her husband whether he ever felt fear while riding the fiend, and, acting upon the information thus obtained, he threw

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// On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Jam made depositories[9] for the dead (astôkdânîhâ), and ordered men to form them; when they saw what was ordered by Jam, it was made New Year's day and it was called Navrûj (new day).

/ 2 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Faridun[10] made the allotment of this world. He gave Arum[11] to Salam, and Turkestân to Tuj, and the province of Iran to Iraj, and asked of the Arab king Bukht Khosru[12] his three daughters and mar-

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the king from his back while descending from the Alburz mountains, and swallowed him. Information of this event was conveyed to Yim by the angel Srôsh, who advised him to seek the fiend and propitiate him. Yim, accordingly, went into the wilderness singing, to attract Aharman, and, when the fiend appeared Yim ingratiated himself into his favour and, taking advantage of an unguarded moment, he dragged Takhmorap out of the fiend's entrails, and placed the corpse in a depository for the dead. In consequence of this feat his hand was attacked with leprosy, from which he suffered greatly until it was accidentally washed in bull's urine, which healed it. This legend is related for the purpose of recommending the use of bull's urine for the purification of the body."

9 Perhaps this passage may be compared with Vendidâd II, 21-25 (and especially its Pahlavi commentary) where it is said that Auharmazd and Jamshid called together a meeting of celestial Yazats and the best of mortals. Auharmazd told Jam to form an underground enclosure called Vara to protect men from the severe winter Malkos. The Pahlavi commentary says: "Jam learnt this from Auharmazd and men from Jam. Jam heard what Auharmazd said, and saw what must needs be seen; and men also listened to what Jam said." Thus *Astokdân* may not, as in its strict sense, be meant here for depositories for the dead (preservation of bones) but the 'preservation of life' from the severe winter Malkos foretold by Auharmazd.

10 The sixth king of the Peshdâd dynasty who defeated Zohâk and confined him in Mount Demâvand. He was the son of Âthwya, called Abtin by Firdusi. He ruled 500 years.

11 The Eastern Empire of the Romans; Asia Minor.

12 Called Patkhusru in other works; son of Airyêfshwa, son of Tâz (Dinkard VII, 1.34). He is mentioned in Pahlavi Vendidâd XX as an instance of opulence. Firdusi mentions three daughters of the king of Yaman.

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ried them to his sons. Salam and Tuj disobeyed their father and killed their own brother Iraj.

14 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Manûsh-chîhar[13] came out for avenging the death of Iraj and killed Salam and Tuj in revenge for Iraj.

15 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Sâm[14] son of Narimân killed the demon Sanâvidak.[15]

16 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Sâm son of Narimân will slay Az-i-Dahâk (Zohâk).

17 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Gayomart killed Arezur, son of Ahriman.

18 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Kaikhosru[16] son of Syâvakhsh[17] killed the Turânian Frâsyâk in revenge for his own father.

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[13] Av. Manush Chithra of Airyu. According to the Bundehesh he was born on Mount Manush. He reigned 120 years.

[14] Kersâsp the Sâmân; he is lying asleep, watched by a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous on account of his disregard of religion in Peshyânsâi (Kâvulistân) till he is summoned to kill Zohâk.

[15] Cf. Zamyad Yt.: "Who killed Snâvidhaka, him who killed with his nails, the stone-handed; thus did he exclaim to all around: 'I am an infant still, I am not yet of age; if I ever grow of age, I shall make the earth a wheel, I shall make the heavens a chariot; I shall bring down the Good Spirit from the shining Garo-nmâna; I shall make the Evil Spirit rush up from the dreary hell. They will carry my chariot, both the Good Spirit and the Evil One, unless the manly-hearted Keresâspa (Naremanâo Keresâspo) kill me. The manly-hearted Keresâspa killed him, his life went away, his spirit vanished".—Darmesteter.

[16] Third king of the Kyânian dynasty. He passed away to the heavens through Vâe (the spirit of the wind). He established the Gushasp fire on the Asnavand Mountain after extirpating the idol-temples near Lake Chaechast. He is one of the immortals.

[17] Son of Kai-ûs. Kangdez was built by him. He was killed by Afrâsyâb at the instigation of his brother Karsevaz. "Mayst thou be beautiful of body and without fault, like Syâvarshâna", says Afrîn Paighamber Zartusht.

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19 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Kaikhosru, son of Syâvakhsh went to the heavens with pomp.

20 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Manûshchîhar and Arish-i-thapâk Sir[18] took back the country from Frâsyâk the Tur.[19]

21 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Kaikhosro son of Syâvakhsh entrusted the sovereignty to Lohrâsp[20] and he himself went to the heavens in triumph.

22 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Spitama Zarathushtra saw and conversed with Auharmazd, the Lord.

23 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Spitama Zarathushtra received the Mazdayasnian religion from the Lord Auharmazd.

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18 Cf. MK, 27 § 44 "From the land of Patashkhvârgar unto the beginning of Dujak such as Frâsyâk had taken by treaty he (Manûschîhar) seized back from Frâsyâk and brought it into the possesion of the countries of Iran." Darmesteter has the following note in his translation of the Yashts on this word:—"Erekhsha Khshviwi-isush, in Pahlavi Arish Shîvâtîr or 'Arish of the swift arrow,' was the best archer in the Iranian army. When Minocheher and Afrâsyâb determined to make peace and to fix the boundary between Irân and Turân, 'it was stipulated that Arish should ascend Mount Damâvand and from thence discharge an arrow towards the east; and that the place in which the arrow fell should form the boundary between the two kingdoms. Arish thereupon ascended the mountain, and discharged towards the east an arrow, the flight of which continued from the dawn of day until noon, when it fell on the banks of the Jihûn (the Oxus)." (Mirkhond, History of the Early Kings of Persia.)

19 Afrâsyâb of the Shâhnâmeh. He offered up a sacrifice to the Ardvisûra in his cave (called Hang-e-Afrâsyâb) under the earth to seize the Kiânian glory, but his prayer was not granted. Alexander the Great, Afrâsyâb and Zohâk are the trio whom the Irânians regard as their worst enemies. Afrâsyâb was killed by Kaikhosro to avenge the death of his father Syâvakhsh.

20 Av. Aurvat-aspa, the father of Gushtâsp and Zarir. He demolished Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews. He was killed by one of the army of Arjâsp in the war of religion. He reigned 120 years.

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24 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Kaî Vishtâsp[21] Shah accepted the religion from Zartusht.

25 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, eighteen things came in eighteen years to Khosro[22] son of Auharmazd.

Eschatological Section

26 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Vâhrâm (Behrâm) Varjâvand appears from Hindustân.[23]

27 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Peshotan[24] son of Vishtâsp comes from Kangdez to the province of Irân and propagates the Mazdayasnian religion.

28 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, Hushêdar,[25] son of Zartusht, sees and converses with Auharmazd and propagates again the Mazdayasnian religion of the Lord Auharmazd and causes it to be learnt by heart. He keeps the sun stationary ten days and nights during mid-day in the midst of the sky and makes men without any doubt as to the Mazdayasnian religion; the Millenuium of Hushêdar then begins and that of Zartusht comes to an end.

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[21] Son of Aurvat-aspa, called Lohrasp by Firdusi and the Pahlavi writers. The last king of the Kayânian dynasty. He ruled 30 years till the coming of religion; altogether 120 years. He routed Arjâsp, the Khyon near Mount Madôfryâd. Jâmâsp was his prime minister.

[22] A king of the Sassanian dynasty. He is commonly known as Khusru Parviz. He was the grandson of Noshirvân the Just. He ruled from 593 A. D. to 628 A. D.

[23] According to the Bahman Yasht he comes from Chinistân which is identified with Samarcand by West.

[24] He is also called Chatru Miyân, from a river of the same name in Kangdez. He is the immortal chief of Kangdez built by Shyâvakhsh, son of Kaikâus. Peshotan becomes high-priest and primate of the world in the millenium of Hushedar. He forgot death because the prophet made him drink a certain sort of milk. "May you be free from disease and death like Peshotan", says Vishtâsp Yasht.

[25] Av. Ukhshyat-ereta. He will be born of Srûtat Fedhri on Lake Frazdânava; also called Hushêdar Bâmi.

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29 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin Sâm son of Narimân kills Az-i-Dahâk (Zohâk) and rules over the seven regions of the earth till Kaikhosru appears; (then) Sâm entrusts the sovereignty to Kaikhosru.30 For 57 years Kaikhosru remains the lord of the seven regions of the earth and Soshyos[26] becomes the Mobed of Mobeds (supreme high-priest);31 and after this when king Vishtâsp is made to assume the bodily form, Kaikhosru entrusts the sovereignty to Vishtâsp and Soshyos entrusts the supreme high-priestship to his father Zartosht.

32 On the day Khordâd of the month Farvardin, the Lord Auharmazd causes the resurrection and the future existence and makes the world immortal, undecaying, uninjured, and undisturbed.33 Ahriman with his demons, his drujas, his off-shoots, the tyrants and the kiks and karaps,[27] becomes impotent. The demon Âz eats up all the demons and the drujas and the righteous Srôsh makes the demon Âz[28] impotent.34 The Lord Auharmazd strikes Ahriman, confounds him and makes him impotent.
35 After that the Evil Spirit with his creatures and creations does

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[26] He will be born of Eredat Fedhri in Khaniras. He will be assisted by 15 men and 15 women in his work of the renovation of the universe. According to the Dinkard his food is spiritual and body sunny. "Whose name will be the victorious 'Saoshyant' and whose name will be 'Astvat-ereta'. He will be Saoshyant (the Beneficial one) because he will benefit the whole bodily world. He will be Astvat-ereta (he who makes the bodily creatures rise up) because as a bodily creature and as a living creature he will stand against the destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Druj of the two-footed brood, to withstand the evil done by the faithful."—Yasht 13.

[27] Av. Kavi and Karapan. These men and their descendants put obstacles in the way of the prophet Zartusht, and in the Gâthâs they are denounced every now and then. The Pahlavi translators explain these terms by the Persian words *Kûr*=blind, and *Kar*=deaf, i. e., they were blind and deaf to the religion and Auharmazd's bidding.

[28] Cf. Bd. 28 § 27. "The demon Âz (greediness) is he who swallows everything and when through destitution, nothing has come, he eats himself; he is that fiendishness which, although the whole wealth of the world be given up to it, does not fill up and is not satisfied".

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not become powerful on this earth. When Ahriman runs towards a hole he is carried there and his head cut off. Hell is filled with seven kinds of metal. This world moves again to the star station, and Garotman from the place where it is comes back to the star station and the whole place becomes Garothmân (Heaven). / Men become immortal and undecaying and food is not necessary thereafter. But when meat is eaten, they rise up in 40 years and if it is not eaten, in only 15 years. They rise up in that place whence their souls went out of their bodies. A man who has no wife is given one by Spendomat.[29] And a woman who has no husband is given one by Auharmazd. In 57 years they beget children. The man who was never married and the woman who had no husband do not anymore procreate children. Man and woman rest together, one with another but they do not produce children, and in every place they are contented and prosperous and they do not want anything whatever to eat and the world becomes pure and men become undisturbed for ever and everlastingly.

Concluded with thanks, pleasure, delight. May you be happy, righteous, fortunate, long-lived, victorious; may your desires be fulfilled and your wishes gratified. May it be so, may it still be so for him who wrote this, for himself, for him who reads it, and for him who keeps it in use.

Righteousness is the best good.

5th September 1899.

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[29] Av. Spenta-ârmaiti (bountiful devotion). The female Ameshâspand who presides over the earth.

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SOME AVESTAN TEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

By Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

(Columbia University, New York City.)

1. Note on two Av. dvandva duals.

The list of dvandva dual forms in the Avesta is not so large that an extra example or two is not worth noting. Two examples may be added to the previous collections. The first is *ahubya ratubya* in Fragm. Farhang. 15 c.—*vispaca ahubya ratubya dâityа rathwya frâraithya ašahê dâtaiš*, all things that are legal and proper according to the Lord and Master (Ahu and Ratu) and in harmony with the laws of Asha Vahishta. The second—*ahuna airyanemna* (for *airyamana*)—is found in Nirangistan 109 and is to be compared with Vsp. XXIV, 2.

2. Fragm. Farhang 17.

The fragment of the Farhang 17 *yâ nara gâtum baraitê* 'when two men set a place (or time)' has a Bûndahishn ring to my ear. I note that the Pahlavi gloss renders *gâtum* by *gâs aêgh zamân* 'place, i. e., time' (cf. Darmesteter *Le ZA.* iii. 19). Is it possible that this fragment is a remnant of an old Avestan quotation which is preserved in the fuller form of the Pahlavi in Bûndahishn I. 19, cf. Westergaard *Bund.* p. 4 lines 14-15 and West's translation in *SBE.* v. 7? The allusion in the Bûndahishn is to the primeval war waged between Ormazd and Ahriman when the world began. Auharmazd there proposes to Aharman a period of nine thousand years for their conflict, and this is accepted by Aharman, 'just like two men quarrelling together, who propose a time thus: "let us appoint such-and-such a day for a fight."'

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3. Fragm. Farhang 24.

The brief fragment of the Farhang 24 *yoghedha fraêazaitê* is left untranslated by Darmesteter *Le ZA.* iii. 20, with the remark 'Je ne puis rien tirer de ce fragment. Le second terme est corrompu. Le Pehlvi a *ayôjishn frâj zâyat.*' But is not the corrupt form *fraêazaitê* merely a mutilated spelling of the common *fra-vaz-aitê*? This would be a dual like *baraitê* in the preceding paragraph (cf. my *Av. Gram.* §451) and *yoghedha* would be a derivative from *yuj-*, cf. Av. *frayukhta.* Thus the phrase would simply mean 'they drive forth together'.

4. Fragm. Tahm. 65 *madhi mastema-.*

Among the numerous grammatical and lexical forms which the Fragments add to our previous stock of Avestan words, may be mentioned two in Fragment Tahmuras 65 (cf. Darmesteter *Le ZA.* iii. 66). The text alludes to the camel in rut, *uštrahe.....madhi mastemahe.* The form *madhi* is a loc. sg. of a stem *mad* 'intoxication' and is to be brought into connection with the nom. pl. *madhô* in Ys. X, 4, but hardly with Fragm. Nirang. 30. As for *mastemahe,* the Sanskrit *matta-* of the 'must-elephant' (*mattahastin-*) is now quotable for the Avestan camel whose passionate characteristics are so graphically portrayed in Yt. XIV, 12 seq.

5. Fragm. Tahm. 11 *vaŋharešta*

A portion of Fragm. Tahm. 11, i. e., *vaŋhareštasciṯ maghnentasciṯ srâvayôiš* is not translated by Darmesteter *Le ZA.* iii. 55, but it is commented on by Bartholomae *IF.* v. 367. As Darmesteter noted from the Pahlavi version, the allusion is to the condition of being undressed (i. e., without the Sudrah and Kusti) or to being naked (*maghna*). I should therefore suggest explaining the form *vaŋharešta* as *vaŋha* + *harešta* 'with one's clothing thrown off', i. e., incompletely dressed. The word *vaŋha* occurs in the adj. *mašyô-vaŋha* 'serving as clothing for man' (i. e., camel's hair') Yt. XIV.11, see note in my *Aves-*

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tan Reader p. 43. The verbal root *harz-* is employed of clothing in Vd. V. 61. The reduction of the two *ha*'s in *vaŋha[ha]rešta* is a familiar law, cf. *hvarena hacimnô* for *hvarenaŋha hacimnô* Yt. X. 121, *Av. Reader* p. 194. A further corruption of the word is found in Nirang. 109.

6. Notes on Yasna XI. 1-3.

One of the selections in my *Avestan Reader* is a portion of Yasna XI and I treated it in the vocabulary. I have recently taken up this chapter again in connection with work on an 'Avestan Dictionary' which Professor Geldner and I are preparing together. I may call attention to one or two words which are now explained differently from the Reader.

(a) *Zaotarem*: this word has been much discussed but Professor Geldner and I are now inclined to derive it from a root zu- 'delight, be acceptable' (trans. and intrans.), cf. Skt. *prî-* in PWb. *prêtar* 'wohlthäter, liebhaber, pfleger'; and compare, furthermore, Av. *zevîštya-* Ys. XXVIII, 9; XLVI, 9; L, 7. The Pahlavi version renders this latter by *dôšak*, *dôšišn* (see Mills *Zoroastrian Gâthâs* pp. 17, 256, 334) and the Sanskrit translation of Neryosangh reproduces it by *abhîtasaka-*, *prîta-*, *mitra-* 'favorable, agreeable, friend'. Thus *zaotar-* would be the 'fosterer, raiser, tender, keeper' of the cow. Of course the allusion in the passage is to the cattle raiser, as the warrior and priestly classes are represented in verses 2 and 3. As already noted in my *Av. Reader* p. 102, the Pahlavi transcription of the word by *zoṯ* or possibly *zûṯ* (cf. West and Haug *Ardâ Virâf Glossary* p. 105) is of no direct help to us. Neryosangh has *grhîtar*, 'taker, accepter, keeper, retainer'.

(b) *hvâsta:* in discussing this word in *Av. Reader* p. 112, I gave the interpretation of the Pahlavi version and referred to the more recent views of scholars that the word meant 'cooked', which I did not then feel inclined to accept. A reconsideration of the matter, however, leads me to believe that the speech of the cow refers to her milk (*gâm hvâstâm*, feminine, as opposed to *gâm hvâstem* masculine, meat, in Vd. V, 52 and that the word

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means 'boiled'—the milk being scalded to preserve it. This is the more convincing because the word *hvâsta-*, *ahvâsta-*, *anahvâsta-* occurs several times in connection with milk and meat as the context shows in Fragm. Nerang. 57 *pasuyêbiš* (read *payêbiš*) *hvâstâiš ahvâstâiš* 'with milk that is boiled or not boiled', and *patûš* (read *pituš*) *hvâstâiš* 'food that is cooked', and others.

(c) *pourumaiti hañjamainê, pourunaraydo karšuydo,:* in the crowded engagement, in the battle with its throngs of men.' The adjective *pourumaiti* I regarded as formed from a *mañt* stem—and this is right I believe. Darmesteter gives the Pahlavi as *'kabad mat yakôyamûnît'* and he presumed that *maitê* (for so he reads) stood for **gmaitê* (Anc. Pers. *gmata*); but there is no necessity in the present case to depart from the strict grammatical explanation, for it is likely that the Pahlavi translator associated *maiti* in some way with the verb Pahlavi *maṭan*, Mod. Pers. *madan*. In a matter of this kind one may well abandon the tradition; on the other hand in the *Reader* I formerly rendered *Karšuydo* by 'race-course'. This was wrong. The Pahlavi version with its *kartkâr* as synonym of *kâr* 'action, engagement' shows that we have plainly an allusion to men in action in the throng of battle. This is rightly observed by Darmesteter.

These brief notes are sent with many kind wishes to Mr. Cama who has done so much to encourage the interest in the sacred scriptures of ancient Iran.

16th September 1899.

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THE EXISTENCE OF THE MORAL IDEA IN THE GÂTHAS.

(Yasna XXVIII—XXXI)

By Prof. Rev. Dr. Lawrence H. Mills.

As perhaps one of the most appropriate contributions which could be made to this volume I offer a discussion as to the existence of the moral idea in the Gâthas (discussing however only a small portion of them).

In those occurrences in which the word *asha* is without doubt the designation of personal character or disposition of mind have we really and at all the positive expression of individual human honour? I think that it is impossible to answer such a question except in one way. And it is of the last importance for us to secure a few entirely undoubted instances in which this idea becomes prominent. For, as in the case of philosophical thought in analogous inquiries even a few well developed instances of the action of the purely moral idea render its presence in every occurrence of the word *asha* possible, even though it may be at times only latent.

And when we recall the extraordinary concordance of the differing phases of this concept as the expressions containing them recur, we shall see all the more the importance of discovering even a single positively certain example of this idea in its untrammelled simplicity. For of course it is the moral idea in its various applications which alone elevates the Gâthas to that very high position among the relics of ancient history which they are, I believe, universally conceded to occupy. Have we then the moral idea as distinct from a quasi-superstitious veneration for ritual anywhere positively expressed in the Gâthas and by the use of this word *asha?*

I think that the very often cited Y. XXVIII, 1, gives us an instance at the very outset. The prayer for "actions toward all,"

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or "all actions" *ashâ*, i. e., "with *ashâ*", that is to say, to be done "with *ashâ*" has reference to the supplicator himself, (as of course): see the first person singular in the immediate connection. The terms while of course recalling *asha* as the ritual, and *Asha* as the Archangel, cannot at all be taken as usurped to these concepts, either of them, to a predominating extent, because the very highly moral duty of thorough care of the sacred herds is so broadly expressed. The strophe alludes to the wail of the herd's soul in view as referred to in Y. XXIX, 1, which was the poetical expression of secular disasters of such a nature that if they had continued they would have menaced the existence of the tribes as an established nation. So that when this Y. XXVIII, 1 culminates in a prayer for the possession of enough of *asha* to fulfil the supreme duties pertaining to the cattle culture as centring the secular interest, it is obvious that attention to the ceremonies was not the chief duty held in view. *Asha* obviously included and carried with it the expression of a needed fidelity in the very virtues which were depicted almost in detail in Y. XXIX, 2. There we read that the Ratu needed was anything but a mere reciting priest. He was not only needed as clever to carry out the detail of the vast system regarded as a business, but he was to be able to play a part in the military defences, all of which is further illustrated in a very marked manner by the detail of woe depicted in Y. XXIX, 1. It is not the priesthood who are bewailing sacrileges but the Herd's Soul itself which roars its complaint out as regards the disastrous effects of the bloody raid with both slaughter and theft. And I regard it as an additional advantage to be able to trace the concept of "personal honour" in connection with something more virile than a mere unapplied subjective sentiment. The ritual would be most naturally thought of to avert the raids, for it might propitiate the deity who might interpose with supernatural power, but "the ritual" though of course never wholly excluded as an element in *asha* is here not at all indicated as the immediate idea in the matter of hard agricultural and pastural toil, involving defensive warfare among its

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duties. And in view of this practical interest here pushed so prominently forward in this Y. XXVIII, 1 the *asha* in the next following strophe (according to which *ashâṭ hacâ*) the supplicator prays to attain to the rewards *ayaptâ* of the two worlds, of the bodily and of the mental (or "spiritual"), most immediately expresses the moral idea of conscientious desert on the very score of which the supplicator makes his prayer.

As regards Y. XXVIII, 5, while the concept of rhetorical personification is the immediate effect produced upon us by the remarkable words *Ashâ kaṭ thvâ dar(e)sânî*, I cannot (even after the most conscientious effort to repudiate the deeper thought) deny that it is present immediately under the surface of the rhetorical figure. To hold that the composer wished to see *asha* as the "holy people" again would be to reduce the passage to an absurdity, as would be the view that he wished to see the "ritual." Both the people and the ritual went with him in whatever diminished force (see Y. XLVI, 2) wherever he sojourned. If Y. XXVIII, 1 expresses a desire for "actions done with unswerving fidelity *(ashâ)*" as to the labours of the community for physical existence; and if *ashâṭ hacâ* in Y. XXVIII, 2 pointedly expresses that moral merit which the composer is praying in the very words to see rewarded, then *Ashâ* in this Y. XXVIII, 5 must mean something closely in analogy with these ideas. Whatever the rhetorical personification covers in the striking expression, it must include something more than ceremonial exactness. How else could a sensible person possibly make use of such phraseology—"O *Ashâ* when shall I see thee?"; meaning "shall I indeed see thee." Turning to another section, it is not possible to deny that *ashâṭ hacâ* in Y. XXIX, 6 expresses the moral idea in view of all that goes before and of all that follows after. "Not a single chief is found for us here", nor one *ashâṭ hacâ*. This last expression can again not be confined to the mere sense "according to rule." Plenty of leaders endowed with external sanctions had been presented, but Zarathushtra is selected for a special reason aside from the "regularity" of an appointment according to statute. That reason partakes largely of the moral

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element; he alone, that is to say Zarathushtra especially (see strophe Y. XXVIII, 8) has hearkened to our doctrines, *yê nê aêvô sâsnâo gûshatâ*, he wishes (nota bene) *rašti*, he has the especial desire to proclaim our *carkerethrâ*, "mighty counsels" (or possibly our "mighty deeds"). That is the reason why it was said to be *ashâṭ hacâ*. The words mean something which "goes down deep." There was no right kind of a man, "a man after my own holy choice," who himself so singularly desires to proclaim something more than ceremonial laws. This view is a matter of course (see the deep, if subdued, passion present in the theme throughout). The law which was to be proclaimed had direct reference to the suppression of the extreme offences mentioned in Y. XXIX, 1; and it called for heroic devotion. Exactness in the celebration of the ritual which appointed the Ratu cannot possibly be the thought intended; and this is proved by the disappointment of the weeping Herd-soul. The cattle interest called in no immediate manner whatsoever for a "reciting priest" but for an *aêsha-khshathra*, "a man master of his desire", a "wish-power-man," who should save the national existence with *zastavaṭ avô* 'strong-handed' (and not merely "oral" or "ritual" aid, that is to say, not "with mouth-help"). The Herd-soul wished for no *neresh asuraḥyâ* non-heroic person. No antitheses could render the concept more unmistakeable. The "moral idea" as in virtuous energy breathes throughout the entire connection, and the conception of the "ritual" in Asha is utterly subordinate.

As to Y. XXXI, 2 it is to me very clear indeed that the result looked forward to from either the recognition of the holy chief, the *Ratu*, or of the holy law could not have been merely that we should live *ashâṭ hacâ* as meaning 'in the punctilious observance of the ceremonies'. Even if *ratu* means the "ritual" and not the "chief", then all the more must *ashâṭ hacâ* express its moral result, the effect of a more fully recognised ritual could not have been expected as merely "more ritual." "More in accordance with our Religion" has a moral ring to it, especially in connection

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with such a word as *Jîvâmahî* "that we may live;" see the vigorous action depicted in the section beginning as it does with an allusion to a murderous foe actually at the moment in the field and ravaging the settlement, *Gaêthâo vimerencaitê*, Y. XXXI, 1. It was no moment to think merely of exactness in the ritual. The saintly chieftain wishes to convert the fanatical hordes, if possible, by an appeal to the fire-ordeal and the doctrines till then "not-listened-to" *(agûshtâ)*. In the very midst of the bloody scenes he seems to have had hope of bringing his fell enemies to terms by religious appeals as well as by military menace, for so he alternates his 'hew ye them all with the halberd' (Y. XXXI, 18); 'that we may live according to *asha*' must mean here predominantly 'according to right', because the violent action depicted in a struggle for the throne (see Y. XXXI, 15) pushes the idea of ritual aside. (Ritual and ceremonies become uppermost in the thoughts in times and scenes of peace and meditation).

As regards *hûrôiš â ashaḫyâ* in Y. XXXI, 21 I should say that the words cited must contain a moral element in view of the *ashem* of Y. XXXI, 22. 'In the fulness of *asha*' must mean more than in the 'completeness of the ritual' in view of the strong terms on each side of it. Healthful weal and deathlessness are the good mentioned immediately before. From his own power he is *sarô*, the protecting head or refuge. He gives the strength *vazdvarê* (N. B.) of the saintly man the orthodox citizen *vaŋheuš manaŋhô*, to him who in deeds (*syaothnâiš*, the analogous Vedic 'cyautnâis' is used of "mighty deeds" and has nothing to do with "ceremonies") is his friend and *hûrôiš â ashaḫyâ* evidently expresses the "spirit" in which all this is to be done. God will reward His faithful adherent in 'the fulness of His justice'. The idea of ritual seems to be categorically excluded. It is a question of fair dealing between master and laborious servant.

University of Oxford, September 1899.

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AVESTA *AS.*

By Prof. K. Geldner.

In Y. IX, 15 the traditional text runs

yô aojištô yô tañcištô
yô thwakhšištô yô âsištô
yô as verethrajāstemô
abavaṭ mainivâo dâmān

and similarly in Yt. X, 98

.....
yô as verethrajāstemô yazatanām
frakhštaite paiti âya zemâ
mithrô yô vouru-gaoyaoitiš.

With regard to the Avesta word *as* the interpretation is still not clear. The Pahlavi translator renders the word by *aît* and sees in it the 3 sg. impf. of *ah* 'to be', which sometimes is *as* (e. g., Y. XXXI, 9; XXXIV, 8; Vend. IX, 48) or sometimes *âs* =Ved. *âs*, Skt. *âsît*. Neriosengh's rendering in the present passage is *yô 'sti vijayavattamô jâtah paralokinâm srshṭibhyah*. But *as* cannot possibly be a verb, for the predicate of the sentence is found in *abavaṭ* or in *frakhštâite* of the following line. Westergaard sought to bring *as* into connection with the following word as a compound, and Justi assigns to this compound the meaning 'very victorious' (sehr siegreich). The language of the Avesta does indeed recognize such a strengthening prefix. This is found, for example, in *ašaojañhem* Y. IX, 8. The Pahlavi Version renders it by *kabed*. But the form of this prefix is always *aš* (אש) never *as* (אס).

The context of the two passages in question allows one rather to infer that *as* is the principal noun of the sentence and that the following genitives—*dâmān* or *yazatanām* depend upon it.

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Sometimes we may learn a lesson even from a mistake of the Pahlavi translation. I believe that the translation of *ascît* in Y. XLVI, 18 by *tanû* in the Pahlavi Version, although it is erroneous, leads us nevertheless in the right direction. As stated, I doubt the correctness of the explanation of *as* there as *tanû*, but I can learn from it that the Pahlavi translation recognizes an *as* which it brings into connection with *ast* (bone, body) translated by *tanû*. Corresponding to Skt. *ásthi*, *asthán* the Avesta has generally a consonant stem *ast* (Lat. ass–is) in *astãm*, *astvant*, *azdebîš*; by the side of this there appears also *asta* or *astan* and occasionally *asti* (e. g., Yt. XIII, 11; Vend. XV, 7 in my edition). In addition to this *ast*, *asti* 'bone, body' the Avesta has also a second *asti*, a masculine which is connected with it by etymology and meaning. This *asti* signifies 'member, associate', especially in the Gâthâs, e. g., *yavôi vîspâi drûjô demânâi astayô*: 'For all eternity they are members of the house of Satan'—XLVI, 11; *drûjô demânê haithyâ aŋhen astayô*: they become veritable members in the house of Satan'—XLIX, 11; *vâzištô astîš*: 'the most helpful member—associate'—Y. XXXI, 22.

Furthermore, just as *ast* 'bone, body' has the more rare secondary form *asti*, so conversely *asti* 'member' has the more rare duplicate form *ast*. This *ast* becomes *as* according to the familiar phonetic law that final *t* must be dropped after an original *s*, but remains after an *s* which is not original: e. g., *cinas* instead of *cinas-t*, but *môist* instead of *môith-t*, cf. Jackson, 'An Avesta Grammar', § 192 Note. I, therefore, translate the Yaṣna passage above cited: 'who was the most victorious member (*as*) of the creatures of the two Spirits'.

As for *ascît* in Y. XLVI, 18 I still believe that it is nom. sg. of a pronominal stem *a* 'self, I myself', with which we may compare *mahmî* 'in myself'—Y. XXXII, 1, *thwât* 'from thyself'—Y. XXXV, 10.

16th October 1899.

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KING FARIDÛN AND A FEW OF HIS AMULETS AND CHARMS.

ERVAD KAVASJI EDALJI KANGA.

Later Parsi writings, and among them the Ravâyets, give a few charms or amulets for averting various evils. I give in this paper some of those charms which are connected with the name of King Faridûn. Most of these charms have not been published as yet. I also give my translations of these charms.

We see from these charms that the name of King Faridûn is prominently mentioned in them. Let us examine why it is so. From the Avesta and later Pahlavi and Pâzend writings, we learn that King Faridûn was a person, who had discovered many remedies for physical evils.

It appears from the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. 13, 131) that he had discovered remedies against several complaints such as itches, hot fever, humours, weakness, ague, and against the plagues of the serpent. According to the Dâdestân-i Dînîk, he was full of remedies (pûr baeshaza[1]). Again, we learn from the Âbân Yasht (Yt. 5, 61) that he possessed supernatural power. It was by this power that he once made Vifra Navâza fly away in the form of a bird. According to the Behrâm Yasht (Yt. 14, 35–40), Faridûn had with him a bird or the feather of a bird, by means of which he could do extraordinary things.

This reminds one of the story of the bird Sîmurgh and *Zâl* in the Shâh-Nâmeh. The bird, which had nourished him when infant and when deserted by his father Sâm, had given him some of its feathers with instructions that he may burn one of the feathers when in difficulty. When the feather was

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1 *Vide* S. B. E., Vol. XVIII, ch. XXXVI, 35: אשו פנש ו שו ש
שו-פנשו

so burnt, the bird invariably went to the place where it was burnt and offered help to Zâl. According to Firdousi, an angel had taught him in secret the art of magic and it was by means of this art, that he had stopped from rolling a big piece of rock which his brothers had, out of jealousy, set rolling from the top of a mountain to kill him.[3]

It seems that Faridûn (Av. Thraetaona) was to the Persians what Æsculapius was to the ancient Greeks. According to Mirkhond, Faridûn always treated physicians with great respect, and frequently reasoned with them concerning the medicine of the human constitution.[3]

According to Hamza, as he was the inventor of medicine, the *Tavids*, *i. e.*, amulets or formulas of exorcism bear his name.

According to Tabri, he was the first who had studied the science of astronomy and was the founder of the science of medicine.[4]

All these references tend to show why the name of Faridûn was invoked in amulets and charms intended to cure or keep off all kinds of physical and mental evils.

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1. A Pahlavi Nîrang (Charm) for the Destruction of Noxious Creatures:



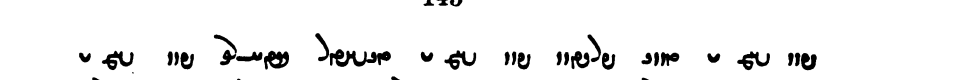
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[3] مروشي بدو آمده از بهشت كه تا باز گويد بدو خوب و زشت
سوی مهتر آمد بسان پري نهانش بيا موخت افسونگري

[3] Shea's Mirkhond, p. 152.

[4] "Le premier, il étudia l'astronomie; ... et il fut le fondateur de la science de la médicine." Tabri par Zotenberg, tome 1, p. 119.

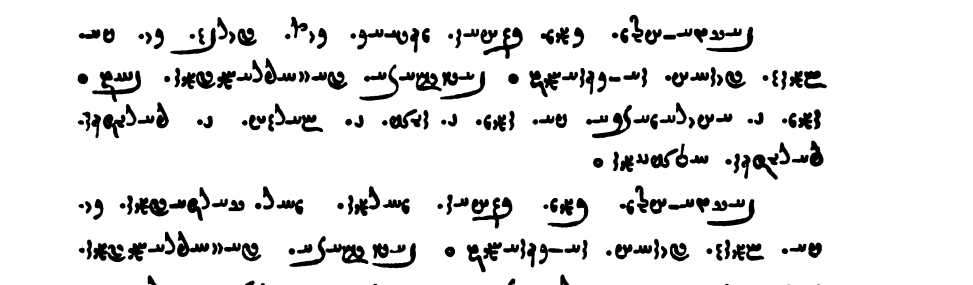
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"By (the help of) the name of the Creator Ahura Mazda, on the Asfandârmad day of the Asfandârmad month, I have tied down the mouths of all noxious creatures, of the Daevas and Drûjs, of the Yâtus, and Pairikas, of the tyrants, of the Kavîs and Karapans, of the sinners and robbers, of wolves and tyrants. By (the help of) the name of God, by (the help of) the body of Faridûn, by (the help of) the name of the star Tishtrya, of the star Satavaesa, of the star Vanant, of the stars Haptoiringa, (I have tied down the mouths of all noxious creatures, Daevas, &c.)"

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2. A Pâzend Nîrang (Charm) for the Destruction of Noxious Creatures :



"I tie down the mouths of all creatures of the species of rats and cats, so that they may not do any harm or evil in the

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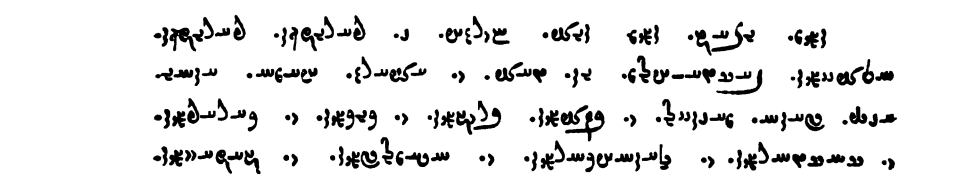
house. May health and fame be to me. By (the help of) the name of Ahura Mazda, and by (the help of) the strength and glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân (I tie down the mouths of rats and cats).

" By (the help of) the name of Ahura Mazda, and by (the help of) the strength and glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân, I tie down the mouths of all creatures of the species of snake.

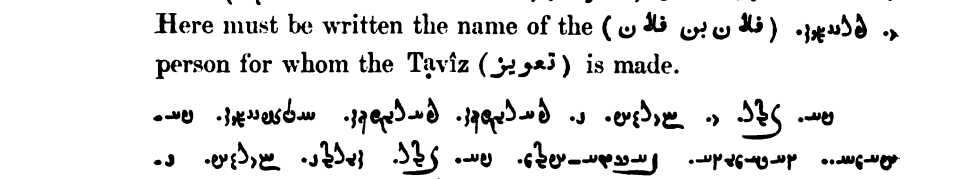
" By (the help of) the name of Ahura Mazda, and by (the help of) the strength and glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân, I tie down the mouths of all creatures of the species of wolf."

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3. A Pâzend Nîrang of an amulet (تعويز) for avoiding illnesses and the harmful effects of the evil eye :



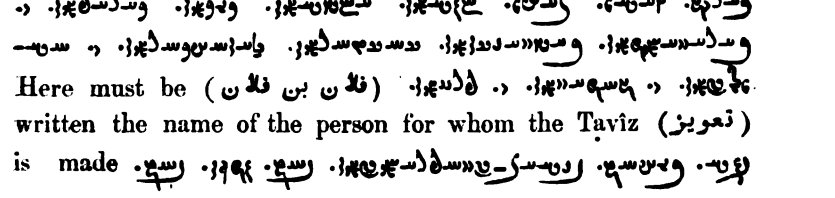
Here must be written the name of the (فلان بن فلان) person for whom the Taʿvîz (تعويز) is made.



" By (the help of) the name of God and by (the help of) the name of the strength and glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân, I have checked (from such and such a person) fever and all other afflictions which proceed from Ganâ Mînô, the Devs and Drûjs, the Kîks and Karapans, the tyrants and sinners, the Âshmogs, the sorcerers and the fairies.

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" By (the help of) the strength and glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân, I have closed all (evil) eyes. By (the help of) the strength and power of the glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân, by (the help of) the strength of stars and planets may the body be healthy! May it be so! May he (*i. e.*, the person for whom the Tavîz is made) have good life and prosperity (lit., good marks)! May he be happy! Amen!"



Here must be (فلان بن فلان) written the name of the person for whom the Tavîz (تعویز) is made

" By (the help of) the name of God and by (the help of) the name of the strength and glory of Faridûn, son of Âthwyân, this fever and other illnesses (of such and such a person) are checked from the evil influence (or artful tricks) of the Drûj, from the wounds of the (evil) eye, whether of relations or non-relations, of the Kîks and Karapans, of transgressors and Daeva-worshippers, the tyrants and sinners, the Âshmogs, the sorcerers and the fairies. May God give him health! May health and fair fame be to him! Amen!"

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THE PARSI AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY CALENDARS:

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGY.

By R. P. Karkaria.

I think, I cannot make a better and more appropriate contribution to the volume to be published in honour of our venerable friend than this one connected with a subject in which he has taken a lifelong and keen interest and for the elucidation of which he has done much more than any scholar of our generation. The Parsi Calendar, its history and vicissitudes among our people, has been the one great object of his study from his early days, and its rectification owing to the miscalculation of our ancestors in India, the steadfast aim of his life, his mission almost to the modern Parsis. I do not intend to discuss the subject of the Parsi Calendar, so ably and exhaustively dealt with by him, in all its parts. I purpose on the present occasion to note the very curious resemblance which the Calendar of the French Revolution bears to this ancient Calendar of the Persians. This resemblance is striking as shall be seen, and has, so far as I know, not been pointed out by any one. Some friends in Europe whom I consulted about it agreed with me in this. Hence I shall proceed to note the resemblance in this paper.

When the French nation overthrew in the last decade of the eighteenth century the order established in their country for several centuries, they pursued the policy of 'thorough' and tried to revolutionise everything. They were not content with a radical change in their politics and system and method of government, but introduced innovations of the most startling nature in nearly every department of life. They swept aside all their traditions and wanted to break completely with the past of which they would not have any even vestiges. They not only changed their rulers, and methods of administration, the geographical divisions of their country, their military and

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financial systems, their currency and taxation; they went to the length of destroying their ancient and time-honoured religion, expelling the name of God from their very language, and substituting a new atheistic worship of so-called Reason in its place. Proceeding to details they changed their history, making all the pre-Revolutionary period a blank, their system of weights and measures, and finally even their era and their Calendar. The idea inspiring all these changes was that of wiping out of the mind and memory of the people their detested past. The means the Revolutionary politicians adopted to carry out this idea were very detestable as in the case of the overthrow of the monarchy and religion. In some changes, however, they showed themselves very reasonable. The reforms of the system of weights and measures, and of the Calendar are two of these.

M. Thiers well characterises the motives that prompted these changes. "A fondness for regularity and a contempt for obstacles could scarcely fail to mark a revolution which was at once philosophical and political. It had divided the country into eighty-three equal portions; it had given uniformity to the civil, religious and military administrations; it had equalised all the parts of the public debt; it could not avoid regulating weights and measures and the division of time. It is true that this fondness for uniformity, degenerating into a spirit of system, nay, even into a mania, caused the necessary and attractive varieties of nature to be too often forgotten. But it is only in paroxyms of this kind that the human mind effects great and difficult regenerations. The new system of weights and measures, one of the most admirable creations of the age, was the result of this audacious spirit of innovation."* This same fondness for regularity and uniformity urged them to reform the division of time and substitute a new Calendar for the one then in vogue in the country in common with nearly all the other countries of Europe, the Julian Calendar.

* *History of the French Revolution* Vol. III., p. 216.

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The best scientists that the Revolutionaries possessed, men like Bailly the Astronomer, Camus and others were employed to construct this new Calendar on what were termed philosophical and scientific principles. The result of their labours is famous in history as the French Revolutionary Calendar and it is this philosophical Calendar that bears such a close resemblance to the ancient Parsi Calendar. It is not known whether the French scholars deliberately modelled theirs on the latter. But there can be little doubt of their knowledge of this ancient Calendar, as they were all learned men who spent a long time on constructing their scheme and who must have been well equipped with the historical lore of their subject. That these French scientific men should have consciously or unconsciously adopted with some changes the ancient Parsi Calendar when commissioned to formulate a new division of time on philosophical principles, is a great compliment to the Parsi sages of antiquity who were the authors of the latter.

We shall sketch here briefly this new Revolutionary Calendar. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each uniformly; and to make up the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year, five additional days were added at the end of the twelfth month. Every four years to mark a leap year a sixth additional day was added. These days were called *Jours Complémentaires*, and were set apart for national festivals under the somewhat absurd name of *Sans-cullotides*,—a name, which, as Thiers says, must be granted to the time, and which is not more absurd than many others adopted by nations. These extra days at the end of the year were considered sacred, each being dedicated to some great virtue or sentiment in honour of which festivals were held. The first *Jour Complémentaire* was dedicated to *Genius*; the second to *Labour*; the third to *Noble Deeds*; the fourth to *Rewards*; the fifth and last to *Opinion*.* This last, it may be noted in passing, was a very

* I have given this list according to Thiers (Hist. Vol. III, p. 217) and Mignet (*French Revolution* Vol. II, p. 34). Sir Harris Nicholas, who gives

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curious and unique festival, quite characteristic of the French nation and those Revolutionary days. It was a sort of political carnival of twenty-four hours, during which people should be allowed to say or to write, with impunity, whatever they pleased concerning every public man. "It was for opinion to do justice upon opinion itself; and it behoved all magistrates to defend themselves by their virtues against the truths and the calumnies of that day."* The sixth *Jour Complémentaire* in sextile years was dedicated to the *Revolution*, and on this festival the French were to celebrate with grand solemnity the period of their enfranchisement and the institution of the republic. The national oath to live free or die was to be renewed on this day.†

Passing from the year to the month, we find that it was divided into three periods of ten days each, the old division of the week being abolished. These were called *Decadi*. But in practice the French dropped this division, and used the number of the day of each month of their Calendar. ‡

The names of the months were taken from the seasons to which they belonged. They commenced the year on the 22nd of September, the day of the true autumnal equinox which also coincided with the foundation of the Republic in 1792. Hence

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in his very useful *Chronology of History*, an excellent account of this Revolutionary Calendar, with tables, &c., for comparing the new and the old, gives a somewhat different dedication of these days. According to him, the first was dedicated to Virtue, and the rest to Genius, Labour, Opinion and Rewards, respectively. (*Chronology of History*, p. 172).

* "Nothing", remarks Thiers, "could be more grand or more moral than this idea. If a more mighty destiny has swept away the thoughts and the institutions of that period, its vast and bold conceptions ought not to be made the butt of ridicule. The Romans have not been held ridiculous, because on the day of triumph, the soldier placed on the car of the triumpher, was at liberty to utter whatever his hatred or his mirth suggested." (*op. cit.*, p. 217.)

† (Nicholas *op. cit.*)

‡ Nicholas, p. 173.

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the first three months belonged to Autumn and were called *Vindémaire, i. e.*, Vintage month, *Brumaire, i. e.*, Foggy month, and *Frimaire, i. e.*, Sleety month. The next three were those of Winter, their names being *Nivose*, Snowy month, *Pluviose*, Rainy month, and *Ventose*, Windy month. The following three fell in Spring : *Germinal*, Budding month, *Floréal*, Flowery month, and *Prairial*, Pasture month. The last three falling in Summer had the names of *Messidor*, Harvest month, *Fervidor* or *Thermidor*, Hot month, and *Fructidor* or Fruit month.

The day was divided into ten parts. 'New dials were ordered for the purpose of putting into practice this new method of calculating time, but not to attempt too much at once this latter reform was postponed for a year.' (Thiers).

Such in its broad outline was the French Revolutionary Calendar. It was first used on the 26th of November 1793, and was discontinued on the 31st of December 1805 when the Gregorian was resumed. In spite of its scientific claims and its simplicity and uniformity it passed away with the extraordinary times and ideas that had inspired its construction and adoption, and now lives only in history, owing to certain great events of the Revolutionary period being named after these new Revolutionary dates of this Calendar.

It will have been seen that this new Calendar differs *in toto* from the Julian and Gregorian used by almost all the Christian nations of the world. Those who know the Parsi Calendar will also have seen how closely it resembles this in its chief principles. To bring this out clearly, let us go a little into details. The year is divided according to the Parsi Calendar into twelve months of thirty days each; and to complete the ordinary solar year five additional days are added at the end of the twelfth month. To produce a correspondence between the seasons and the civil year a sixth additional day was added every four years in former times; though this feature has disappeared during the last several centuries from the Parsi Calendar as it is in vogue in India, and the intended

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correspondence entirely unattained.* These complementary days are held very sacred and called after the most sacred part of the Avesta the five Gâthas or the holy hymns of Zoroaster himself. They are days of solemn festivals held in the greatest respect by the people.

There is no week in the Parsi Calendar, a peculiarity in which it differs from the Christian, Hindu and other calendars, just as it resembles the French.†

Though the months are not called like those in the French Calendar after the seasons, the six great feasts that regularly recur every other month are so named. The names of these feasts called the Gahambars present some etymological difficulty; but it is agreed by all that they have much to do with the seasons. The etymologies assigned to them by Roth shows that we have old names of the seasons in the Gahambars. Mr. Kama follows Roth in this. *Maidhyoshema* is, thus, midsummer; *maidhyozarema*, midspring; *maidhyairya*, midwinter (Roth), or time of leisure and rest (Kama). *Paitish-hahya*, harvest time, *ayâthrema* and *hamaspatmaedhaya* are puzzles still to the etymologists and subject to guesses. Geiger thus sums up our knowledge on this subject. "Maidhyozaremya denotes 'mid-

* Curiously enough owing to this error in calculation the Parsi year has now at the end of the nineteenth century come to begin almost with the autumnal equinox, like the French Revolutionary year. The year 1269 of the Parsi era began on the 15th September 1899, *i. e.*, only a week earlier than the Revolutionary year if the new French Calendar had been in vogue.

† There are some traces of something like a division into weeks in the early times in Iran. Mr. Kama discusses this at length in his "Zoroastrian Studies" (*Zarthosti Abhyâs*, No. I and No. VII., pp. 384 seqq.; cf. Roth *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 705.) Dr. Geiger thinks it very problematical to say that the people of the Avesta observed the week of seven days or that it was of any account in the business of civil life. *Ostiranische Kultur* Cap. V. (Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 144) There was also, it seems, at first a division of the month into two fortnights. *ad.* Kama *op cit.* pp. 386-9. *Cf.* Geiger *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 147, esp. p. 152.

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spring' : Maidhyoshema, 'midsummer' : Maidhyâirya, 'midwinter,' or more accurately 'midyear.' The first is called the time of blossoming, the second the time of the hay crop, the third the autumn or hay time. Paitishhahya is generally understood as the time of the corn crop, harvest time and so is fitly called 'corn-bearing.' Ayâthrema is according to Roth's ingenious exposition, the time in which the cattle return from the mountain pastures and the rams are allowed to go to the ewes. The explanation of the name Hamaspatmaidhya offers the greatest difficulty. In the opinion of Roth this is the time in which the farmer makes his preparations for the sowing. I would rather adopt the opinion of C. de Harlez in referring this name to the great feast of the *manes* and the solemn preparations for it."*

The resemblance of the names of the French Revolutionary months like *Messidor*, harvest-month, and *nivose* snowy month to the names of these Gahambars is obvious.

As the day was to be divided into ten parts in the French, it is divided into five parts in the Parsi Calender. These five divisions are called *gâhs* and each is called by a peculiar name. Five good genii preside over these parts.†

As to the antiquity of this Avesta and Parsi Calendar, though we cannot fix the date when it was first introduced, yet it is one of the most ancient in the world. And many nations of antiquity seem to have adopted many of its peculiarities. Mr. Kama is of opinion that the Jews and Cappadocians borrowed the names of their months from this Calendar.‡ The Egyptian Calendar resembles the Parsi much and it also seems to have borrowed many points from it. The Egyptian

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* *Ost. Kultur.* Cap. V. Geiger it may be said does not agree with Roth in deriving the Gahambar names from the seasons ; and so do some other critics. *Cf.* Kavasji Kanga *Khurdeh Avesta.* pp. 154-5.

† Geiger Vol. I, p. 154-6. Kama *op. cit.* p. 375.

‡ *Zarthoshti Abhyas* No. VII., pp. 392-5.

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year commonly called "the Vague Year" was divided into twelve months of thirty days each with an addition of five Epagomenæ or intercalary days, after the twelfth month. Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, the late eminent Egyptologist, thinks it probable that it was instituted at a remote period. Yet he says that "probably the first colonisers of Egypt brought the Vague Year from the land of Shinar."* The eras known as those of Nabonassar and of Diocletian have also adopted the old Parsi method of having supplementary days at the end of the Year. Even the later Mahomedan rulers of Persia so opposed to every thing Zoroastrian, adopted it and still use a Calendar which comes very near to the ancient Parsi.† When Akbar changed the Mahomedan Calendar in his dominions in India, he adopted this Parsi Calendar with his new Ilahi Era. And this is current at the present day in Hyderabad, Deccan.

The Parsi Calendar being thus famous in history and the exemplar of many other famous ones, and it being moreover simple and rational, it is not surprising that the French Revolutionary scientists when bent on introducing a new Calendar avowedly based on philosophic principles, with their passion for simplicity and rationality should have modelled theirs on the ancient Parsi Calendar, the model of many of their predecessors in Asia, Africa and Europe, in ancient, medieval and modern times. Such being the antiquity and important position in the history of chronology of this Calendar, it behoves the Parsis of to-day to keep up its scientific character by hastening to purge it from the inaccuracies introduced into it, in the course of centuries, by the ignorance and indifference of their fugitive ancestors in India.

6th October 1899.

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* *Horæ Egyptiacæ* 1851, p. 6.

† Kama *op. cit.* p. 452.

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A FEW STATEMENTS OF THE AVESTA AS UNDERSTOOD BY THE WRITERS OF THE REVÂYET.

ERVAD EDALJI KERESASPJI ANTIA.

In the study of the history of the Parsi religion the *Revâyets* play an important part. They give us an idea of how some of the statements of the Avesta were understood by the Zoroastrians of Persia and India about 300 years ago. The object of this paper is to present a few passages from the *Revâyets* which interpret parallel passages in the Avesta as then understood by the people. The passages of the Revâyets are here given for the first time: As a translation of the passages will not be very intelligible I will give here a very free paraphrase.

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1. The five spiritual faculties.

The five spiritual faculties believed to be innate in men are *Jân* (Vital Force), *Ravân* (Soul), *Akhô* (Conscience), *Bôê* (intelligence), and *Frôhar* (the Guardian spirit). See Y. XXVI, 4: Cf. Y. XXVI, 6, Vd. XIX, 27, 33, and Hâdokht Nask.

In the Revâyet of Barzû Kavâm-ud-Dîn, there is a long description of them as follows :—

اندر حدیث آنکه مردم چگونه فرمان یابند و بدان حساب و شمار و مزد و عقوبت چگونه باشد و پاداء- فراه هر چه چیز باشد و آنکس که نیکو کردار باشد جایش چگونه باشد × اندر دین به مازدیستان آن گوید که اندر مردم پنج چیز مینوهست × یکی را جان خوانند × یکی را روان × و یکی اخو × و یکی بوئی (آتش) × و یکی را فروهر نام × و این هر یکی را ایزد تعالی در تن مردم بکاری گماشته است و چیزی نگاه میدارند ×

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و بوي را در تن کارآنست که عقل و فهم و خرد
و هوش و حفظ هر یک بجائي خویش نگاه دارد تا هر
کس بکار خویش مشغول باشند و کار خویش ورزند و
قوت با تن بخشند و اعضا قوت بایکدیگر دهند × و فروهر
را کار آنست که طعامي و چیزي که خورند اورا
نصیب خوش دهد و هرثقیل و ثقله بیرون اندازد و
خرم کند × و روانرا کار آنست که از بدیها نگاه
دارد و در وقت سخن گفتن را میفرماید که فلان چیز
بگوئي و فلان چیز مگوي و چیزها اندیشد و تن را
عقل فرزانه دارد و در خواب چیزها از بهشت و
دوزخ بدو نماید و نیک کردن و بد ناکردن و هر
چیزیکه ازین جنس است آن کند و فرماید × و جانرا
کار آنست که تن میدارد و ذوق و لمس روحش و
پایندگي و جنبیدن که مردم قوت و زور تن جمله
مي افزاید و آتش عزیزي را قوت دهد تا دفع علتها
و دردها مي کند که در تن مردم است × و اخو را
کار آنست که همیشه تنرا و روانرا و دیگر همکاران را
نصیحت مي کند که نیکي کنید و بدي مکنید چون غضب
یا شهوت یا حقد (کینه) یا حسد برش غالب کرده او دران
کوشد که آن چیز از تن مردم باز کم کند و ایشانرا
دیگران بیاري خویش میخواند تا تن را نصیحت میکند
و میگوید که فردا روز غمخوارگي غم نباید خوردن
و چون تن از نصیحتها و پندها از وي نبشنود و ایشانکه
میگویند تا تن بدان کار رضا ندهد و فرمان او
نبرد از ایشان دور گردد البته بدان راضی نباشد یا
بتوانند کردن تن از بدیها نگاه میدارد و آخرت
رستخیز تن پسین اندیشد و این دیگران چون روان
و بوي و فروهر وقت باشد که دیوان ایشانرا بفریبند
و ببدي کردن همداستان شوند و آخر از ایشان دور
شوند و این جمله بیاري جان در تن توانند بودن
و چون جان از تن برود ایشان هر چهار دیگر موافقت
کنند و با او بروند و بي جان در تن نتوانند بودن
و چون بیرون آمدند جان با باد آمیخته شود و اخو

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با مینوان روان بهشت شود زیراکه او هیچ گناه در
تن نکرده باشد و روان و بوي و فروهر هر سه باز
با هم بیامیزند و حساب و شمار برایشانست اگر نیکي
کرده باشه و نیکي گفته باشه ببهشت رسند و اگر
بدي کرده و بدي مندیده باشه بدوزخ شود و تن و
جان هیچ عقوبتي و پاداشفراه نیست و حسابي برایشان
نباشد از سبب آنکه تن آلت روان است او آن کند
که آن فرماید × و جان بادي و بخاري لطیف است
که ازدل خیزد و چون جمله از تن بیرون آیند
جان با باد گمیخته و تن با خاک گمیخته شود و
استخوان و رگ و پي و خون و ریم و گوشت بر
زمین گمیخته شود و موي با شجر و نبات گمیخته
شود و تا رستخیز نگاه دارند و پس برستاخیز خداي
عز و جل این هر یکي را بدان که سپرده است باز
میخواهد ×

"It has been mentioned in the sacred writings of the Avesta, that a man's actions during his earthly career are remunerated, after his death, and that the man is rewarded or punished as he deserves. It further states that there are five spiritual faculties, supposed to be innate in the human body. They have, according to their nature and efficacy, control over entire human actions.

"The function of *Bóê* (spirit) is to rule over intelligence, understanding and judgment, so that each may perform its duty, and co-operate for the entire welfare of the body.

"The function of *Frôhar* is to give wholesomeness to the food which men eat and to remove every indigestible matter.

"The function of *Ravân* (soul) is to restrain man from doing evil, to induce him to speak good words, and abstain from evil ones. It protects the body of man through superior wisdom, gives him an idea of heaven and hell in dream, directs him to make choice of what is good, and reject what is evil.

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"The function of *Ján* (Vital Force) is to support the body and keep it in delight and happiness. It gives vigour to all the limbs, increases the heat of the body, and drives away diseases and sickness from it.

"The function of *Akhô* (conscience) is to admonish the body, the soul and other companions of the body to make choice of good deeds, and abstain from evil ; and when the body is overpowered with fury, passion, revenge and malice, it tries to free the body of these evil attributes, and with the assistance of other faculties, it warns the body against the evil path it may pursue, so that it may not have to repent in future. When the body no longer listens to the good admonitions of Conscience and acts against its directions, it abandons it. It protects the body, as far as it can, from the evil path and warns the man about Resurrection and the final dispensation (*Tan-pasîn*). The other faculties, such as *Ravân*, *Bôê*, and *Frôhar* are strengthened, when they abstain from the evil temptations and frauds of the Daevas. All these faculties strengthen the Vital Force in the body. When the Vital Force departs from the body, the remaining four faculties also accompany it ; hence they cannot remain in the body without the Vital Force. When the faculties depart from the body, the Vital Force mixes itself, as it were, with the wind, and Conscience returns to heaven in company with the Soul of the pious, because the purity and sanctity of Conscience cannot be affected by the sins of man, since it has no part in him. *Ravân*, *Bôê*, and, *Frôhar* have to account for the good or evil a man does during his earthly career, and according to the result of the judgment, they receive either eternal bliss or damnation. It is for this reason, that the body and Vital Force have not to experience any sort of torture or punishment, and have not to account for the earthly career, because the body is solely under the guidance of the *Ravân*, and acts according to its directions. The Vital Force is aeriform, and mixes itself with the wind, when the other faculties depart from the body, and the body is reduced to dust. Blood, bones, fat, and flesh are

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also then reduced to dust, and hair mixes itself with trees and plants. They are protected till the resurrection and after the resurrection, the Omnipotent God will make use of them in restoring men."

See Avesta (Y. XXVI) where only the names of the five spiritual faculties are met with. In the passage, quoted above from the Revâyets, is to be found a detailed account of their functions.

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2. The World and the seven Ameshâspands created by Ahura Mazda. The seven Daevas produced by Ahriman as the opponents of the seven Ameshâspands: (See Yt. I, 25: V. XIX, 43.)

Barzû Kavâm-ud-Dîn's Revâyet gives the following passage about the Ameshaspands:—

اندر دین پیدا ست بدانند که چون دادار اورمزد
گیتي بیافرید و هرچه اندر گیتي بداد و بعد ازآن
گاو و کیومرث بیافرید چون آهرمن پتیارة درگیتي
آمد گاوهم اندر ساعت بمرد و کیومرث بعد ازان سي
سال بزیست چون از گیتي بخواست شدن بآهرمن دروند
گفت که ازین گیتي پتیارة مند که هیچ راحتي بي
رنجي درین جهان نتوان یافتن و من بدآنچهان روشن
میشوم که هیچ رنج و بلا و دشواري درانجائي نیست
و ترا بفرصت که چون زرتشت اسفنتمان انوشه روان
باد ایدون باد ترا با همه دیوان و درجان از جهان
بیرون کند و تا رستخیز دین او باشد و مردمان
بردین او ایستادة باشند و توهیچ بدي درگیتي نتوانی
کردن × آهرمن گجسته چون این سخن بشنید دردي عظیم
بروی رسید و هفت دیو اندر گیتي بداد اکومن و
اندر و ساول و نا ینکهیت و تاریخ و زاریخ و
هیشم × و هریک ضد هیستار امشاسفندان است × اکومن
ضد بهمن امشاسفند است × و اندر ضد اردیبهشت

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امشا سفند است × و ساول ضد شهریور امشاسفند است ×
و نا ینکهیت ضد اسفندارمد امشاسفند است × طارخ ضد
خورداد امشاسفند است × ظارخ ضد امرداد امشاسفند
است ∴ و هیشم ضد سروش اشو فیروزگر است× بهمن
امشاسفند کار آنست که مردم را نگذارد که بایک
دیگر جنگ و خصومت و کینه و تعصب اندر دل دارد
و دادستانراستي اندر میان مردمان پدید کند چون
ظلم درمیان کم باشد و نگذارد که بر مردمان کار
ناشایشت کند و خرد و عقل و فهم و حیا و هوش و
ویر بر مردمان زیادت کند و مردمانرا براه راست
مي آرد × و اکومن دیو کار آنست که دل مردمان
از کار و کرفهٔ نیک کردن سرد کند و هرگه که
مردمان بدی کنند و مردمان باهم خصومت کنند و
جدل و لجاج پدیدار کنند و دران کوشد که بایکدیگر آشتي نکنند و کینه و تعصب در دل مي آرند تا آن
حد که قتل و خون ریختن و کارزار در میان افکند
و مردمان پائي از فرمان عقل و خرد بیرون نهند
و کار ناشایست بدکنند این همه بد اکومن دیو است ×
و اردیبهشت امشاسفند کار آن باشد که مردمان کار
کرفه کنند بدانچهان خرمي و رامش از اردیبهشت امشاسفند باشد هر گاه که مردم خرم باشند اي آنکه آنرا
سببي کند که آن خرمي و رامش اردیبهشت امشاسفند
در دل ایشان افگند از بهرآنکه کرفه باشد که ایشان
معلوم نموده و راه چنود پل بر اشوان اردیبهشت امشاسفند فراخ کند و چون بچنود پل گذر مي کنند راحت و
آسالي از اردیبهشت امشاسفند باشد × اندر دیو کار
آنست که مردمانرا دل تنگي دهد و غم و اندوه در
دل مردمان افگند چون مردم گناه کنند ایشانرا بدوزخ
برد و عقوبت بروانها بنماید و مردم که پیوسته دژم
روي باشند اندردیو کند و سر چنود پل نخست اندر
دیو پیش آید و چنود پل بر دروندان اوي تنگ کند ×
و شهریور امشاسفند کار آنست که عدل و داد در

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دل پادشاهان دهد و پیوسته پادشاهان عادل نگاه
میدارد و هر پادشاه که عادل بود او دوست شهریور
امشاسفند است و هر شاه که عادلتر بود دیرتر بماند
و زر و سیم و دیگر چیزها که در کانها و کوهها
باشد شهریور امشاسفند نگاه دارد و بقوت شهریور
امشاسفند این چیزها در کانها تواند شد و بعد خویش
رسیدن و بدینجهان روزي که بدرویشان رسد شهریور
امشاسفند کند و بدان جهان شفاعتخواه درویشان بود ×
و ساول دیو کار آنست که پادشاهان که ظلم کنند و
مصادرة (جنگ) دوست دارند و طراري و دزدي و راه داري
هرچه بدین ماند دوست دارد ساول دیو راه
نماید و این چیز در دل مردمان افگند و مردمان
را گمراه کند تا کارهائي ناشایست کنند تا بدان سبب
در هلاک افتند + اسفندارمد امشاسفند کار آنست که
مردمان که کار خواهند کردن براي و باندیشه و تدبیر
تمام کنند و تکبر از طبع مردم ببرد و مردمان خوش
آواز و چرب سخن کند تا بر مردمان بار نامه و
تکبر نکنه و چون رنجي و دشواري و دردي صعب
بمردمان رسد او مردمانرا صابور کند و خرسند گردانه
بدان دل خوشیها کند تا آن رنج بدان دلخوشیها
بگذارد و چون کرفه کرده باشد و رنج اورا پیش آید
بدان سبب اسفندارمد امشاسفند نگاه دارد که او ازان
کار کرفه پشیمان نشود × و نا ینگهیت دیو کار آن باشد
که مردمانرا به تکبر کند و چون رنجي بمردم رسد
نا ینگهیت اورا نگذارد و بیاشواند و چیز از و بردارد
تا کرفها نکند و در ایزد ناسپاس شود و چون مردمان
اورا پند دهند او بتر باشد و نصیحت نپذیرد و بي
طاعتي پادشاه و مادر و پدر و استاد و زن در شوهر
و بنده در خداوند که کند از نا ینگهیت دیو باشد ×
و خورداد و امرداد امشاسفند کار آنست که هرشیریني
و چربي و خوشي که در آب و نبات و در
طعمها باشد ایشان کنند و چون روان اشوان بگروثمان
و بهشت رسند و ایشان را چیزي نباید که بخورند و

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صیر باشند خرداد و امرداد امشاسفند کنند × و طارخ
و ظارخ دیو کار آنست که چیزهاء که ناخوشي باشد
ایشانرا ناخوشي دران چیزها دهند و در دورخ روان
دروندانرا خورشهاء پلید بخورانند و کندهٔ ایشانرا
دهند و موکل ایشان باشند تا آنگاه که آن خورشهاء
پلید خورند عزاب بروان ایشان نمایند × و سروش اشو
فیروزگر کار آنست که همه جهان نگاه میدارد از دزد
و بلاها و آفتها و هرشب سه بار همه عالم برسد مانند
پاسباني که پاس مي‌دارد و با هیشم دیو شبي هفت بار
کارزار کند و اورا از بدي کردن از جهان باز میدارد+
و هیشم دیو کار آنست که خشم و کین در دل مردمان
افگند و هر بدي که در جهان رود وي یاري
کند و با گناهگاران یار شود تا بر گناه کردن دلیرتر
باشند و این هفت امشاسفند که دادار اورمزد بیا-
فریدهٔ است این کارها بر ایشان باز بستم است و روا
میدارند و مردم مي‌باید که خویشتن را از راه
دیوان نگاه میدارند و براه اورمزد و امشاسفندان
باز آیند و نگهدارند که این دیوان بروي چیرهٔ نشوند
و اورا براه اهرمن نکشند تا از رنج این جهان و
پادهفراه آنجهان رستم باشند ×

"It is manifest in religion that when Ahura Mazda created the world and all things in it, and afterwards created *Gâviodâd* and *Gayômard*, the deadly Ahriman entered the world, whereupon *Gâviodâd* died there and then, and *Gayômard* lived for thirty years. While departing from this world, *Gayômard* said to Ahriman; 'Neither happiness nor misery is attainable in this naughty world. I shall remain in entire happiness in the other world, because there exists nothing like misery, calamity, or hardship in that world. When the immortal Spitama Zarthusht will be born, he will destroy all the *daevas* and *drujas* in this world, and his religion will continue to prosper till the day of judgment, and people will have firm faith in his religion, and there will be an end to all sorts of mischief on your part.' When the deadly *Ahriman* heard these words, he was greatly dis-

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tressed, and formed seven *daevas* in the world, viz., *Akôman*, *Indra*, *Shâval*, *Nâughathia*, *Târich*, *Zârich* and *Aeshma* as the opponents of the *Ameshâshpands*. *Akôman* is opposed to *Vôhuman*, *Indra* to *Asha Vahishta*, *Shâval* to *Khshathra Vairya*, *Nâughathia* to *Spenta Ârmaiti*, *Târich* and *Zârich* to *Haurratât* and *Ameretât* respectively, and *Aeshma* to the victorious *Sraosha*.

"The function of *Vohu Manô* is to extirpate quarrel, enmity and malice from among men, and lead them towards justice, and prevent them from being tyrannical. He warns men against improper actions, and leads them to good sense, intelligence, wisdom, and such other good attributes, and guides them on the path of righteousness.

"The business of *Akôman* is to lead men astray from the path of righteousness. He is the instigator of malice, discord, and enmity among men. He instigates revenge and malice to such an extent that bloodshed, war, and slaughter ensue among them. *Akôman* is the originator of such evils.

"The function of *Asha Vahishta* is to create among the righteous, a further ardent desire for righteousness. It is *Asha Vahishta* who facilitates the path over the *Chinvat Bridge* for men, and presents before them ease and comfort when they pass over the bridge.

"The business of *Indra* is to keep men in distress. He creates in them grief and affliction. He leads, those who had been wicked during their earthly career, to hell, and afflicts them a great deal. It is *Indra*, who makes men gloomy, and makes the passage of the *Chinvat Bridge* narrow for the wicked to pass.

"The function of *Khshathra Vairya* is to guide sovereigns on the path of justice. He is always on the watch that sovereigns may act with justice. He is the friend of just rulers. A just ruler lives long. He is the protector of gold, silver, as well as other metals, and it is he who brings about an abundance of metals

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in mines. It is *Khshathra Vairya*, who bestows livelihood to Derwishes in this world, and recommends them for a sublime place in the next world.

"The *Daeva Sâral* is the friend of tyrants and oppressors, and it is he who spreads disorder and anarchy in a kingdom, creates all sorts of evil passions in men, and instigates them to be wicked, by which they suffer much in the long run.

"The function of *Spenta Armaiti* is to create thoughts of righteousness in pious persons, and drive away arrogance and pride from them. He makes men affable and polite, by which they may not be overpowered by arrogance. It is he who grants to men patience during their illness or calamity, gives them comfort, and tries to avert any sort of calamity from them. When any misfortune befalls a man, while performing a righteous deed, *Spenta Armaiti* is on the watch, that he may not shrink from it.

"The business of *Nâughaithia* is to make men arrogant, and deprive them of forbearance in their distress. He instigates them to shrink from piety, and to be displeased with God. He gives them evil advice. It is he who creates disagreement between parents and their children, between teachers and their disciples, between husbands and wives, and between masters and servants.

"*Haurvatât* and *Ameretât* are the originators of sweetness, relish, and all sorts of joy in water, trees, and plants, as well as in food. It is through *Haurvatât* and *Ameretât* that the pious are happy and contented in heaven, although they have no need of food during their eternal bliss.

"The business of *Târich* and *Zârich* is to create dissatisfaction everywhere. They provide stagnant food in hell to the souls of the wicked, and the misery of those souls, while partaking of such food, is indescribable.

"The business of Victorious *Sraosha* is to guard the whole world. He protects the world from plunder, calamity

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and hardship, thrice a day. He wages war with the *Aeshma* seven times during the night, and prevents him from doing any harm to the world.

"The business of *Aeshma* is to produce malice and revenge in the hearts of men. He encourages wickedness in this world, and instigates criminals to practise more and more wickedness.

"The above-mentioned seven *Ameshâspands* have been created by Ahura Mazda, and they have been entrusted with the above-mentioned functions, which they go on doing; then it behoves men to be aloof from the *daevas*, and follow the path of Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspands, and be careful that they are not overpowered by the *daevas*, and led towards the path of Ahriman, so that they may not experience any sort of misery or punishment in the other world."

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3. Mehr-drûjî (Breach of contract). (See Vd. IV, §§ 11-17.)

From Barzû Kâmdîn's Revâyet.

در دین مهردرج شش گفته است × اول باکسي که قول و پیمان کرده باشد بشکند روانش ششصد سال در دوزخ بماند و چون بزبان اقرار کرده بود و دست بدستي نداده بود و از اقرار سخن گفتهٔ خود بگردد سیصد سال در دوزخ بماند × دیکر بیع کرده است و باز گردد تا چهار صد سال در دوزخ بماند × سدیگر بیع گاو و اسپ و استر و چهارپایان بشکند تاهشتصد سال در دوزخ بماند × چهارم بیع گوسفند بشکند تا پانصد سال در دوزخ بماند × پنجم بیع زمین بشکند تا نهصد سال در دوزخ بماند × ششم پیمان دختر بوصلت کردن کند و ازوي باز گردد تا نهصد سال در دوزخ بماند × و شاگرد که باستاد بهم برآید و دلیل کند و استاد را سرد گوید آنهم تانهصد سال در دوزخ بماند ×

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"The subject of Mehr-Drujî (Breach of Contract) has been treated under six different headings in our Sacred Writings. First.—If one gives a promise to another and violates it, he is to undergo hell for six hundred years. If one, after giving a promise simply with his word, and not with the hand, breaks it, he is to undergo hell for three hundred years.

"Secondly.—If one has settled a bargain, and afterwards does not fulfil it, he is to undergo hell for 400 years.

"Thirdly.—If one has agreed to buy an ox, a horse, a camel, or some such domestic animal, and if he violates that contract, he is to undergo hell for 700 years.

"Fourthly.—If one has agreed to buy a cow, and afterwards does not buy it, he is to undergo hell for 700 years.

"Fifthly.—If one has settled to buy a plot of ground, and afterwards if he does not fulfil that contract, he is to undergo hell for 900 years.

"Sixthly.—If one has contracted to give his daughter in marriage to a person, and if afterwards he breaks that contract, he is to undergo hell for 900 years. If a pupil be disobedient to his teacher, and quarrels with him, and uses unbecoming words towards him, he is to undergo hell for 900 years."

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4. Fasting, not at all meritorious in the religion of Zarthosht. (See Vd. III § 33.)

From Barzû Kâmdîn's Revâyet.

اندر دین گوید سخت پرهیز باید کردن از روزه
داشتن چه در دین ما نشاید که همه روز چیزي نخورند
چه گناه بود× مارا روزه داشتن اینست که برچشم و زبان
وگوش و دست و پاي روزه داریم از گناه کردن و
قومي دران کوشند که همه روز چیزي نخورند واز چیزي
خوردن پرهیز کنند مارا نیز جهد باید کردن تا هیچ گناه

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نکنیم و نه اندیشیم و نه گوئیم باید که حواس خانه
ما هیچ کار بد نرود که ازان گناه بود چون چنین کنیم
روزهٔ هفت اندام بجائي آورده باشیم× آنچه از دیگر
دینها از نان خوردن روزه هست در دین ما از گناه
نا کردن روزه هست ×

"We must never observe fasting, that is, refrain from taking food at the proper time, because fasting for a whole day is not considered meritorious in our religion; on the contrary, it is considered sinful. Our religion directs us to keep our eyes, tongues, ears, hands, and feet in proper control, that we may not be drawn towards sinful actions. Of course, there are some, professing other religions, who observe fasting for a whole day, but we must only take care that we are not tempted towards sinful actions. When we keep our passions in control according to the doctrine of our religion, it is a proper way of fasting. We know that persons professing other religions consider it meritorious to observe fasting, or refrain from food for a certain period."

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5. To speak the truth. (See Ashem Vohu; also Sraosha Yasht Hâdokht, § 3, Ashi Yasht, § 20).

دیگر کرفهٔ راستي کردن و راستي گفتن پیش باید کردن
و خویشتن بدان داشتن که هیچ چیزي مردم به از راستي
نیست و هر دوجهان ایزد از راستي بیافرید و از راستي
برجایگاه مانده است و از بهر راستی را پاکیزه شود و
آهرمن کجستم از هیچ چیزي به ازان نترسید که از راستي
و رستخیز از راستي بباید کردن و هر جایگاه که از راستي
بنا گرفت خورده در آنجایگاه راه یافت و هر خانداني که
پیش بماند از برکت راستي است و آهرمن در آنجایگاه راه
نیابد و گفته است درین که یک مردم راست بهتر از همه
عالم دروغگوئي و چون کاوه اصفهاني آهنگري بود و
چون پائي بر راستي داشت وسخن بر راست میگفت تا چون
ضحاک که همه کشور او داشت و چون براو راستي سخن

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میگفت چرا دیو و مردم از وي ترسیدند و بهر گفتاري
بروي چیره بود بروي مظفر شد بجهت سخن راست که
میگفت و آهرمن گجسته چون مینوي راست بدید سه هزار
سال بیهوش افتاده بود از بیم راستي سربر نمي آرست
گرفتن و در پنجهان نیارست آمدن و چیزي که تو دران
نظر کني که برجائي مانده است چون تحقیق آن باز جوئي
براستي مانده باشد و در زند اشیم وهو تفسیر راستي
گفتن است از بهر آن اشم وهو زیادة خوانند و دیگر
کرفهٔ راستي کردن بود باهمه کس وخاصة باتن و روان
خویش چه هرکس که باتن و روان خویش راستي کند با همه
کس راستي کرده باشد و راستي با تن خویش کردن که
بر خویشتن تقصیر نکند و آنچه تن را باید ازش باز
نگیرد و خواستي که گرد کند از نیکي و راستي کردن
جمع کند بصلاح کار خویش بکار برد و راستي روان آنست
که گناه نکند و هر چیزي که داند که بدان رنج بروان
خواهد رسیدن ازآن حذر کنند ×

"Our religion enjoins us to speak the truth, and observe truthfulness in all our dealings. Nothing is better for men than truthfulness. God has created both the worlds on the principle of truthfulness, and it is through truthfulness only that peace and tranquility prevail in them. The accursed Ahriman dreads nothing so much as truth. There will be nothing except truthfulness at the time of Resurrection. All illustrious families have acquired reputation through truthfulness. Ahriman cannot set his foot where truthfulness prevails. A truthful man is more sublime than all liars taken together—so says the Zoroastrian religion. The well-known Iranian blacksmith Kâve of Isphahân was a great lover of truth, and it was through truthfulness only, that he was able to defeat so powerful a ruler as Zohâk. When Ahriman saw the angel of truth, he fainted, and remained in that state for 3,000 years, and was not able to lift up his head and enter this world. Truth keeps all things firm in their position. 'Ashem Vohu' is a prayer on truthfulness, therefore we must repeat that prayer as many times in a

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day as we can. We must be particularly careful to lead our soul in truthfulness. because, he, who leads his body and soul in truthfulness, is said to be upright in everything. To lead the body in truthfulness means not to commit any fault, to allow the body all sorts of honest enjoyment, to acquire wealth through honest means, and make a good use of it. To lead the soul in truthfulness means not to commit any fault and to refrain from doing anything, which may afflict the soul."

Do fire and water kill a man? (See Vd. V §§ 8, 9).

(پرسش زرتشت که آب وآتش مردم را کشد وپاسخ یزدان)

دگر بار زرتشت اسفنتمان * بگفتش که ای داور غیبدان
بپرسم زتو من دگر راز دین * بفرمای تا من بدانم یقین
همان آب تاند که مردم کشد * از آتش جوابم بده تو سزد
که تامن بدانم که این هردوان * تواند که بکشند مرمردمان
بپاسخ بدو گفت آن رهنما * که بشنو تو زرتشت گفتار ما
هم آبی که من دادم اندر جهان * نبکشد همی مردم این را بدان
که شیطان وارونهٔ بد کهر * بیگزیده دیوی زدیوان بتر
کنون نام آن دیو پست استواد * که نای بترخواندازدین وداد
همانکس منش رابه بندد چنان * بیندازد اورا بآب روان
نگهدار تا جان بسپارد او * بهانه بود آب این را بگو
از آتش دگر توشنو همچنین * که تادانی این راه آین دین
که نای بترست پا بندوش * برد سوی آتش بیندازدش
همان آتش سرخ سوزای راه * بسوزد مر اورا در آنجایگاه
بدان ای زرانشت اسفنتمان * بگو تو همین راز با مردمان
کنون هرچه من دادم اندرجهان * نیابند آزار ازان مردمان
که نای بتر مردمان میکشد * رک وجان شان ازبدان میکشد
ترانکس که ازمادر اوخود بزاد * همه جان بنای بتر پای داد
دگر هرچه گویم بتو همچنان * یکایک بگو با همه مردمان
که ازدین و راه من آگه شوند * همه کار نیکو بدنیا کنند
بداند که منزل همانجا بود * دل از مهراین بیوفا بر کند
تورا گویم این پند واندرزها * که گوئی همه بندگان مرا

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هرا نکس نپث رفت این دین من * بدوزخ فرستم بر آهر من
فرستم من اورا بخشم وستیز * بمانه بد انجای تا رستخیز

"Spitama Zarthosht asks of Ahura Mazda, whether it is fire or water that takes the life of a man when he falls into it, and the reply from Ahura Mazda:—

"Spitama Zarthosht asked Ahura Mazda, 'I wish to know from you an unintelligible thing, and that is, "Is it fire or water that destroys the life of a man when he falls into it?"' The Creator, Who always guides us towards the path of religion replied, 'O Zarthosht, let it be known that water created by me does not destroy the life of a man, but the accursed Ahriman has selected a *daeva*, by name *Ostagarûl*, or as he is called *Vâe-ratar* in our Sacred Writings, who stupefies the senses of a man in water and kills him, so water is merely in name the destroyer of his life. The same is the case with fire, where *Vâeratar* binds his feet, and destroys his life, while the fire is bright and burning. O Spitama Zarthosht, first know it for yourself, that the lives of all men created in the world have been entrusted to *Vâeratar*, and then make it known to the people of the world, that they may be acquainted with the doctrines of my religion, so that they may perform righteous deeds, and may not set their heart on this transitory world. Let all men in the world know, that whoever does not act according to the doctrines of my religion, is condemned to hell, the abode of Ahriman, and the scene of warfare and struggle till the day of judgment."

7th March 1900.

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A BRIEF OUTLINE OF SOME CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS THAT LED TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE STUDY OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE AMONG THE PARSIS.

By Khan Bahadur Bahmanji Behramji Patel.

It very often happens that religious feuds and controversies give a stimulus to the study of religious literature. It was so in Europe at the time of the Reformation. The same has been the case among the Pârsîs of India to a certain extent. The object of this paper is to give a brief outline of some controversial questions, which advanced the study of their ancient literature among the Pârsîs.

Before coming to the subject proper of my paper I will say a few words on the subject of "The state of the knowledge of Religious Scriptures", among the Pârsîs of India about 400 years ago.

It is now more than 1200 years that the Pârsîs of India left their ancient home and abode for the sake of their religion, and it is remarkable that they have, upto this day, preserved most of the ritual, rites, and ceremonies of their renowned creed.

For centuries after their advent to India, they preserved their old forms and ceremonies, following the ancient traditions. But latterly, when they separated and spread themselves into the different parts of Gujarat, they lost their hold of some of the old customs and rites. At last, growing doubtful as regards the authenticity of some points, the Pârsîs of Nowsari, Surat, Broach, Cambay and Anklesar in the year 1478 A. C., agreed upon sending one, Narîmân Hoshang, an intelligent and brave Pârsî of Broach, to the learned Dastûrs and Mobads of Persia, to have a satisfactory solution of several questions pertaining to religion and forms of ceremonies.

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Narîmân Hoshang returned to India with a reply to his questions, dated the 22nd August 1478. At the commencement of their reply, the learned Dastûrs of Iran say:—

از کیومرث تا امروز هیچ روزگار سخت‌تر و دشوارتر ازین هزاره سریشیم نبوده است و نه از دور ضحاک تازي و نه افراسیاب و نه تورجادو و نه اسکندر یوناني که دادار اورمزد میگوید که این کسان گران گناه‌تر اند و ازین هزاره سر که اورمزد گفته است که هشتصد و چهل و هفت سال که گذشته است بیشترین روزگار بتر نبوده است اما بهدین درین زمانه کار کرفه کردن راه اورمزد دسترس اندک است و نیرنگ و برسم و ایوزداثرگري و پاکي و پرهیزگاري هم اندکي بجاي مانده است و باقي از دست افتاده است

که در نوساري سالاري بهدین است داور نام چنگه شاه و جزیهٔ بهدینان نوساري را دور کنانیده است

و دیکر بداند که نساي بهدینان بکافر فرمودن و بدخمه بردن و دیگر انکه در کمبایت و انکلیسر کاهان چوبین است

که دو پیربد دانا بیایند و خط پهلوي بیاموزند و شایست و ناشایست بدانند در راه خشکان نزدیک است واز قندهار تا سیستان نزدیک است واز سیستان تا یزد ازین بیم نیست

"From Kayômars upto this day, no time has been harder and more calamitous than the end of this millenium; and neither the period of Zohâk Tâzî, nor that of Afrâsyâb, nor that of the Sorcerer Tûr, nor that of Alexander the Greek—of whom the Creator Hormazd says that they are gross sinners,—no period has been worse than the end of this millenium, of which Hormazd has made mention, of which 847 years have already passed. Moreover, at this time, the faithful have little help to perform meritorious actions in the path

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of Hormazd ; and only a little of Nîrang, Barsam, Purification, Purity and Abstinence has remained ; the rest has gone out of use.

"That in Nowsari there is a chief *beldîn* (layman), a *dâvar* named Changah Shâh who has caused the poll-tax *(Jaziyah)* to be removed from the faithful of Nowsari.

"Again it is known that they employ the infidels to carry to the Towers the dead bodies of the faithful. Again there are wooden biers *(gehâns)* in Cambay and Anklesar.

"We wish that two intelligent priests may come hither, and study the Pahlavi writings, and distinguish the proper from the improper. As to the route the land-route is short and from Kandahâr to Sîstân the distance is short, and from Sîstân to Yezd there is no fear."

Narimân Hoshang went a second time to Persia in 1486, to receive replies to further inquiries. At the commencement of the reply it is stated :—

که سالها شده است که بهدین ایران اندکي هستند
بسیار در طلب و انتظار بوده اند که یکي در ملکي از
نشان بهدین آگه شوند

"Since many years the Faithful of Persia, who are few in number, are very anxious and desirous, that they may receive some clue to the existence of the Faithful in any other country."

In the year 1511, a third epistle was received from Persia, where it is said :—

تا ایام عرب گذشته و ایام ترک در آمده این
فقیر انرا معلوم نبوده که در ممالک هند بهدینان مانده اند
یا نه تا قبل از سي و پنج سال ازین تاریخ بهشت بهرنریمان
هوشنک متوجهٔ اینجانب شد مکتوب از اشوروان بهرام شاه
و چنگه شاه و از جماعت بهدینان و دستوران بدینجانب
نوشته بودند این فقیران جواب آن نوشته بدست

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نوشیروان خسرو و مرزبان اسفندیار قبل ازین بیست
و نه سال که گذشته فرستاده بودیم و هیچ چیزي از سال
هم نفرمودند و این فقیرانرا معلوم نیست که احوال
بهدینان آن ولایت چون هست

"Until the decline of the Arab dynasty and the succession of the Turks, we did not know whether the Faithful existed in the country of India. Thirty-five years previous to this date, the late Narîmân Hoshang came here, bringing with him letters addressed to us by the late Behrâmshâh, and Changah Shâh, and by the assembly of the Faithful and the head-priests. We had sent our reply twenty-nine years ago, written by Nôshîrwân Khusrû and Marzbân Aspandyâr. You have not written to us anything during this long interval of years, and we do not know anything of the condition of the Faithful on your side."

Inquiries and explanations were often made in this way, upto the year 1768 A. C. The collection of the replies or explanations is named the *Revâyets*. Twenty-two such *Revâyets* were formed out of the explanations brought from Persia by the undermentioned Pârsîs from 1478 upto the year 1768:—

1478	A. C.	Narîmân Hoshang of Broach.
1486	„	„ „
1511	„	Name not known.
1527	„	Câmâ Asâ of Cambay.
1535	„	Aspandyâr Yezdyâr and Rustam of Cambay.
1540	„	Câmâ Bohra of Surat.
„	„	„ „
1542	„	Kâûs Câmâ of Cambay.
1559	„	Kâmdîn Shâpûr of Cambay.
1597	„	Kâûs Mâhiyâr of Broach.
1601	„	Kâûs Mâhiyâr and Mâhiyâr Rustam of Cambay.
1612	„	Aspandyâr bin Sohrâb of Surat.
„	„	„ „ „

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1626 „ Bahman Aspandyâr of Surat, from Turkâbâd.
1627 „ „ „ „ from Yezd.
1627 „ „ „ „ from Kermân.
1649 „ Rustam Jandel of Persia.
1668 „ Mehrwân Jandel of Surat.
1670 „ Rustam Khûrshîd Aspandyâr of Nowsari.
1673 „ Câmâ Bohra of Cambay.
1683 „ Jamshîd Hîrjî Nânâbhai of Surat.
1768 „ Kâûs Rustam Jalâl of Broach.

Some hundreds of religious dogmas are propounded and explained in these *Revâyets*, and they were for a long time, honored as the mouthpiece of the indigenous Parsi religion.

It is a regrettable fact, often mentioned, that at this period the majority of the Pârsîs were ignorant of reading and writing. Only the Mobads had a knowledge of reading and writing. Brilliant exceptions were, of course, met with among them. They had, in their possession, copies of their holy scriptures and other critical works on religion. The laymen learnt from the Mobads the recital of their every day prayers. Their knowledge of religion went so far and no further could it go. After their coming into contact with the Europeans at Surat the Pârsîs advanced in learning. From the middle of the 16th upto the 18th century, several laymen of Surat and other places caused to be transcribed and copied for their use the above mentioned Revâyets, as well as, several historic and legendary works (Nâmahs), and their daily prayer book.*

* I give here a list of a few such old MSS., written by the priests, which I have seen in the possession of my friend Ervad Mânekjî Rustamjî Unwâlâ :—1) a Gujrati translation of *Mînô Kherad* written in 1554 A. C. by Ervad Jâl son of Ervad Kâmdîn at Damaun. 2) *Khordah Avesta* in Gujrati characters written in 1680 A. C. by Ervad Kersâspjî Burjorjî of Surat for Nânâbhai Patel of Ûmrâ. 3) A Gujrati translation of *Khordah Avesta* written in 1683 A. C. by Dastûr Dârâb Hormazdyâr of Balsâr. 4) A Gujrati translation of *Khordah Avesta* written in 1724 A. C. by Dastûr Jâmâsp Âsâ of Nowsari. 5) *Khordah Avesta* in Gujrati characters written in 1733 A. C. by Dastûr

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After this brief reference to the history of the *Rewâyets*, which will give an idea of the state of religious knowledge among the Pârsîs about 200 years ago, I come to the subject proper of my paper, *i. e.*, the various controversial questions which led to the advancement of the study of the ancient religious literature.

In the beginning of the 18th century, there cropped up in Surat two controversial questions, the discussion of which led to a good deal of the study of the religious books.

1. The first question was whether the face of a corpse should be covered with a Padân (Av. Paiti-dâna, a kind of veil) or not. The discussion did not end in any uniformity of custom, and difference in the observation of that custom still prevails. In Surat, Nowsari and the adjoining villages the custom of putting on the Padân is still kept up.

2. The next question was whether the legs of the corpse should be folded or left in a stretched position. The question has not been settled as yet and there is no uniformity of custom even now.

3. Then came the controversy of the *Kabîsah* or Intercalation. On the 26th November 1720, a Mobad named Jâmâsp (Velâyetî) started from Persia for Surat. On his arrival, he found that there was a difference of one month between the Persian and the Indian Zoroastrians in the matter of their *Rôz-Mâh* reckoning (calendar). At first, he hesitated to show

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Dârâb Pâhlan of Nowsari for Seth Dâdâbhai Frâmjî Rustamjî Seth of Surat. 6) *Khordah Avesta* in Gujrati characters written in 1760 A. C. by Mobad Bahmanjî Dâdâbhai Rustam Khatâi-nâ of Surat for Behdin Jîjî Mâkâ Patel of Singanpore. 7) *Khordah Avesta* in Gujrati characters written in 1763 A. C. by Ervad Shâpûrjî Rustamjî Mullâ of Nowsari for Behdin Rânjî Ratanjî Jasâvâlâ of Bombay. 8) *Khordah Avesta* in Gujrati characters written in 1778 A. C. by Dastûr Rustamjî Behrâmjî Sanjânâ of Surat for Dhanjîbhai Mancherjî Ready-money of Bombay.

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this difference to the Pârsîs of India, because he found that, during the discussion of the two controversies mentioned above the opposing parties had grown somewhat fanatic. At this time he had opportunities to observe the general ignorance which prevailed among them as regards religious forms and ceremonies. He therefore took three intelligent priests under his pupilage: 1) Dastûr Dârâb (Kûmâ-nâ-Dâda-dârû) from Surat, 2) Dastûr Jâmâsp (Jâmâsp Âsâ) of Nowsari, and 3) a Dastûr of Broach (very likely Dastûr Kâmdînjî's father Dastûr Fardunjî). He taught them the Avesta and its Pahlavi commentaries. In the same year at the instance of Jâmâsp, Mr. Mânekjî Edaljî, the Armenian broker of Surat, began to use the *Kadîmî i. e.*, the Persian calendar. Upon this a great dispute arose as regards the Pârsî calendar. In 1736, a Behdîn named Jamshîd, who was conversant with a little of astronomical science, came from Persia to Surat, and the dispute took a more serious aspect. The Pârsîs requested him to solve, by means of astronomical calculations, the doubts which had arisen in their mind after Jâmâsp's advent to India. He taught astronomical calculations to an intelligent Mobad named Kâûs Farîdûn, who was afterwards called *munajjem*, *i.e.*, versed in the science of stars, because he made astronomical calculations and declared that Jâmâsp was correct. In 1740 Jamshîd came to Bombay, but he could not enlist himself in the good graces of the Bombay Pârsîs.* Five years after, on the 6th June 1745 a few poor Behdîns of Surat—Bahman Lim-nô, Rânjî-nô Khûrshed, Behrâm Dâdâ, Pôpatjî-no Rustam, Lallai-nô Sohrâb, and others became *Kadîmîs*, and from this year they commenced to perform the *mûktâd* ceremonies one month earlier. At this juncture a few Pârsîs who were inclined to Kadîmî-ism openly professed their belief in the new calendar. From this time

* A priest named Shehriârjî Nowrojî of Bombay in a letter to Desai Kharsetjî Tehmuljî of Nowsari, dated 11th November 1740, says "Jamshed Irânî has now come from Surat to Bombay. He induces the Pârsîs and hopes to gain them over."

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the Pârsîs became very anxious to acquire religious knowledge and instituted researches on the subject. Dhanjîshâ Manjîshâ, a leading Pârsî of Surat, who was inclined to the *Kadîmî* doctrines, sent for Mobad Kâûs Rustam Jalâl from Broach, and sent him to Persia to institute inquiries on this much disputed question. Kâûs proceeded to Persia on the 28th April 1768 with his son Peshutan, afterwards named Fîrôz, (the well-known Dastûr Mullâ Fîrôz). He stayed there for twelve years, and made all possible endeavours to sift the truth. He travelled in the various provinces inhabited by Zoroastrians, and returned to Surat on the 9th February 1780. He brought with him several MSS. and declarations (*mahzar*), copies of which found their way in the hands of intelligent members of the community. On the other hand, those who followed the old method, *i. e.*, the *Shehenshâhîs*, brought forward evidences in favour of their calendar. Great discussions took place at Broach, and at first, Dastûr Kâmdînjî and subsequently his descendants, discovered from old works several arguments in favour of the *Shehenshâhîs*. In 1783 an *Atash Behrâm* was established in Bombay and consecrated on the 29th September according to *Kadîmî* rites. On this occasion a few Pârsîs of Bombay became Kadîmîs. In this manner, this controversy led some of the Pârsîs of Bombay, Surat and Broach to renew their efforts to acquire a knowledge of their religion and history.

In July 1826 Dastûr Aspandyârjî Kâmdînjî of Broach published at Surat a Gujrati work, containing a historical account of the ancient leap year of the Pârsîs, named "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર ઇયાને કબીશાની હકીકત", *i. e.*, "a historical account of the ancient Leap Year of the Pârsîs." He has proved therein that intercalation (Kabîsah) was used in the ancient *religious* year of the Zoroastrians. When the book was read in Bombay the controversy revived after a lapse of 40 years. To refute Dastûr Aspandyârjî's arguments as regards the existence of intercalation Mullâ Fîrôz bin Kâûs, on behalf of the Kadîmîs, commenced on the 7th August 1826 writing a series of letters in the *Bombay Samâchâr*. A week

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after, *i. e.*, on the 16th August 1826, Dastûr Aspandyârjî died at Broach, and Dastûr Kâûsjî, the eldest son of Dastûr Aspandyârjî carried on the controversy. The size of the *Samâchâr* had to be doubled on account of the correspondence on this controversy. Dastûr Fardûnjî Dârâbjî Jâmâsp Âsânâ who was Dastûr Aspandyârjî's supporter in Bombay established another newspaper named *Akhbâr-e Kabîsah* for carrying on the controversy on behalf of the *Shehenshâhîs*. The *Ebtâl-e Kabîsah* was started by the *Kadîmîs* for a time for disputing the arguments of the *Akhbâr-e Kabîsah*. The Bombay Courier and the Bombay Gazette teemed with correspondence on the same subject. Thereafter the *Shehenshâhîs* and the *Kadîmîs* formed committees of their own leaders for the regular discussion of this question. Both the committees met privately to frame arguments against their opponents. They sometimes invited learned Moguls and other literary men of Bombay to take part in the discussion. Hâjî Hâsham Ispahânî took side with the *Shehenshâhîs* and Akâ Muhammad Shûstarî helped the *Kadîmîs*. The whole Pârsî community was very anxious to continue the discussion and to help the study of the different aspects of the controversy so as to come to a definite conclusion. The controversy was put a stop to in the newspapers after a year and a half, but both the parties continued to issue books and leaflets in favour of their contentions. The *Kadîmîs* asked the learned Zoroastrians and Mahomedans of Persia to elucidate the truth in this matter.* Thereupon the *Shehenshâhîs* produced further arguments from their religious literature and searched for the works of Mahomedan authors to deduce arguments in their own favor.

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* Moreover Dastûr Mullâ Firôz published in 1826, a list of 26 old reliable works of Mahomedan authors from which he could prove the consistency of his contention. They are as follows :—

1— تفهيم ابو ريحان, written in 398 A. Y. (1029 A.C.)
2— روضت-ال-منجمين, written in 443 A. Y. (1074 „)
3— شرح زيج ايلخاني, written in 705 A. H. (1305 „)
4— زيج الغبيگي, written in 841 A. H. (1437 „)

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The first polemic after Dastûr Aspandyârjî's famous work was Hâjî Hâsham Ispahânîs "Shawâhed-ul-nafîseh fî Asbât-ul Kabîsah" published in 1827.* It was rendered into Gujrati by Ervad Dosâbhai Sohrâbjî Munshî in 1828.

5— شرح زيچ الغبيگي, written by Moulan Ali Kushchi, in 930 A. H. (1523 „)

6— شرح زيچ الغبيگي, written in 1003 A. H. (1594 „)

7— ميزان مستقيم, written at Mecca in 1111 A. H. (1699 „)

8— زيچ ناصري, (date unknown).

9— ديباچهٔ زيچ قتبي, written in 752 A. H. (1351 „)

10— زيچ لمع, written in 840 A. H. (1436 „)

11— ديباچهٔ زيچ اختياري, written in 852 A. H. (1448 „)

12— تسهيل زيچ الغبيگي, written by Mir Akasi in 1148 A. H. (1735 „)

13— تسهيل زيچ محمد شاهي, written in 1141 A. H. (1728 „)

14— تسهيل زيچ الغبيگي, written by Shah Jehan bin Jehangir Padsha in 1003 A. H. (1594 „)

15— شرح زيچ تسهيل شاهجهاني, written in 1042 A. H. (1632 „)

16— احكام-الانام, containing Sultan Muhammad's horoscope together with Kadim Yazdajardi date, written in 974 A. H. (1566 „)

17— تالع-نامه, *i. e.*, Mirak Isâ Valad-e-Khâjah Shokrlâ Vazir's horoscope together with Kadim Yazdajardi date, written in 855 A. H. (1451 „)

18— جمع-القرنات, (date unknown).

19— تنكيب مقال, „ „

20— فارسي قضاة, „ „

21— تحفهٔ نظاميه, „ „

22— تقويم مستخرجه, 362 A. Y. (993 „)

23— تقويم صنه ٨٨٩ يزدجردي, (1510 „)

24— تقويم صنه ١٠٢٤ يزدجردي, (1655 „)

25— نزولت-القلوب, written in 1038 A. H. (1628 „)

26— بحرالا نوار, (date unknown).

* The works referred to in this book to prove the existence of intercalation are as follows :—

1— شرح بيست باب, by Mullâ Muzaffar.

2— شرح تذكره, by Alâm-e Khafarî.

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In reply Mullâ Fîrôz published in the same year the "Adl-e Kavîeh" or arguments to prove the non-existence of intercalation, which was translated into Gujrati by Mobad Fardûnjî Marzbânjî in the same year. Hâjî Hûsham Ispahânî then published the "Dafa-ul-hazal" in response to Mullâ Fîroz's statement; This book also was translated into Gujrati by Dosâbhai Sohrâbjî Munshî and published in 1836. Dastûr Edaljî Dârâbjî Sanjânâ published his "Khoreh-Vahîjak," *i. e.*, the glory of interculation, being a collection of arguments deduced from Avesta, Pahlavi and Pâzand works in 1828. Mullâ Fîrôz prepared the "Avîzeh-Din" as a retort, which was published in 1832 after his death. In 1828 Mullâ Fîrôz also published his "Resâlah-e Estashnâd" containing evidences on the non-existence of intercalation in the pure religion of Zoroaster. The *Shehenshâhî* committee in 1833 published a collection of declarations (Mehzars) they received from Ispahân in favour of intercalation with their Gujrati translations prepared by Ervad Dosâbhai Sohrâbjî Munshî and Dastûr Fardûnjî Dârâbjî Jâmâsp Âsâ. The work is named "Gavâh-ul-Kabîsah." Many other books and pamphlets were published at the time but we find no trace of them now. The *Shehenshâhî* committee spent about Rs. 40,000 and it cost the *Kadîmîs* as much. During the discussion a few more Pârsîs became Kadîmîs in Bombay.*

3— تفحهٔ شاهي, by Kutb-ud-dîn Shîrâzî.

4— رسالهٔ كوشجي, quotation from Shâ-Mîr Shîrâzi.

5— " " " " Hâjî Abd-ul-Razâk.

6— تفهيم ابو ريحان.

7— شرح بيست باب استرلاب, by Khâjeh Nûser-ud-dîn Tûsî.

8— بحرالا نوار.

9—Mehzar of Mullâ Kâûs, quotation from Akâ Husain Munajjem.

10— اختيارات.

11— شرح زيج ايلخاني.

* According to the census of 1891 out of the Pârsî population of 91361 in Bombay Presidency only 7206 are *Kadîmîs*, the rest *Shehenshâhîs*.

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4. In 1822 the foundations of two Âtash Behrâms were laid at Surat—the one for the Shehenshâhîs and the other for Kadîmîs. The *Shehenshâhîs* opposed the *Kadîmîs* on the ground that *there could not be two Âtash Behrâms in one city according to religious custom.* The matter was carried to the Court of Law. Both the parties prepared themselves with facts from their religious and traditional literature. They supported their case by passages from the Avesta, *Vajarkard Dînîk*, *Revâyets*, *Zartosht Nâmah*, *Sikandar Nâmah*, Burhân-e Kâta &c.

The following incident though not strictly belonging to the subject of my paper may be noted here as one that led to the further study of their literature among the Pârsîs.

The Pârsîs felt the emergency of a careful research into their religious literature after an incident which happened in 1839. It was the conversion of two Pârsî youths to the Christian faith. The Bombay missionaries published adverse criticisms against Zoroastrianism in the English journals, and Rev. Dr. Wilson, by his speeches and letters in public journals, criticised their principal work the *Vendidâd*. In 1840, in reply to Dr. Wilson, Mr. Dorabjî Hormusjî Bengallee published the *Râstî-e Mazdayaçnân*, Ervad Dosâbhâi Sohrabji Munshî published the *Talim-e Zartosht*, and Dastûr Edaljî Dârâbjî Sanjânâ published the *Mojazât-e Zartosht* in defence of the dogmas of their religion. Again in 1841 Dastûr Minocheherjî Edaljî Jâmâsp Asâ issued his polemic the *Nîranghâ-e Kalamkash* and Dastûr Aspandyârjî Frâmjî Rabâdi, the first translator of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidâd and Yaçna, published the *Hâdî-e Gumrehân*. From July 1842 commenced to appear under the editorship of Mr. Nowrozjî Fardûnjî assisted by Dastûr Edaljî Dârâbjî Sanjânâ a monthly magazine, the *Rehnumâ-e Zartoshti*. It was divided into two parts, the first treated of the good points of the Zoroastrian religion, and the second was directed against the dogmas of Christianity. In January 1843 Dr. John Wilson published his well-known work on the Pârsî

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religion, which was criticised in the Gujrati Press and in the *Rehnumâ-e Zartoshti*. On the 31st August 1856 a Pârsî youth received Baptism in the Khetwady Mission House. At this time too the Pârsîs wrote several pamphlets against Christianity and in favour of Zoroastrianism, to bring their less literate brethren to a sense of their religion.

This short history of several controversial questions among the Pârsîs shows that these controversies were not without their advantage. They encouraged among the Pârsîs the study of their ancient literature.

9th March 1900.

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THE CRIMINAL LAW OF ANCIENT IRAN.

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The task of writing on a subject relating to ancient nations is exceptionally difficult. In the first place, our sources of information regarding them are very limited; and secondly, if there are any, they are not quite trustworthy; partly because, as it sometimes happens, the history of one nation is written by an individual belonging to another, who is likely to introduce unwarrantable matter through mere ignorance, not to mention his natural bias against the nation he is writing about; and partly because, if the writer happens to belong to the same nation, he is likely to exaggerate the exploits of the national heroes, and thus reduce history to legend. This is somewhat true of the general history of ancient Persia, but not so with regard to its ancient law of crimes. This subject is embodied in one of the sacred books of the Persians, *viz.*, the Vendidâd, which has been handed down to us in an almost intact condition from remote antiquity. The existence of the law of crimes in Persia in remote times is a proof of its very early civilization.

In Europe and other less advanced countries in ancient times there was in fact no criminal law except the law of revenge (the *lex talionis*). Each aggrieved person tried to revenge himself by taking from the offender "a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye, a life for a life." That was the time when men were leading a nomadic life, and had no settled homes to live in, and were altogether barbarous. The advance of civilization, the increase of population and social intercourse, and the growing danger of foreign invasions all combined to instil into the minds of people a love for settled homes, and they consequently formed themselves into what are called village communities or societies, each governed by its own rude laws and re-

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gulations. It was still later on that regular tribunals were established for the proper execution of the laws. Even at present the practice of duelling between litigants is freely indulged in in some parts of Europe. Such was not the case with the seat of the Aryans even in ancient times. There was a time when the ancestors of the Iranians and the Indians lived together as one nation in Central Asia towards the north-east of modern Persia. On account of religious and other differences between them, a schism took place. One stock migrated towards modern Persia (Irân), and came to be called Iranians, the other descended towards India (Hindustân), and came to be called Indians (Hindus). But as both nations had once common ancestors and common ideas, we find simultaneous civilization and advancement regarding law and religion in Irân and India from very ancient times. That is the reason why these two countries alone showed signs of civilization and progress regarding society and its effective administration at a time when the world was, so to say, in its infancy, and most of the other countries were semi-barbarous. The learned works of Manu[1], the great Indian law-giver bear abundant testimony to the highly advanced legal state of the country in his time. So does the Vendidâd, one of the sacred books of the Pârsis, written about 3000 years ago, mention some offences then known to the Iranians, and the penalties prescribed therefor. Of course the modern distinction between Civil and Criminal law was not recognised then. In fact there was in ancient Irân no civil law. Civil grievances, if any, were redressed in the same way as criminal ones. The fact of the meagreness of civil law as compared with criminal is a feature which characterizes all the earliest legal systems of ancient nations.

1. It is difficult to fix the age of Manu. Sir W. Jones places the age of his Code, as is found in its present form, at 1280 B. C., while Prof. Max Müller places it at 200 B. C. The latter does so, on account of certain interpolations apparently inserted by commentators, which seem to be of a very later origin. Native scholars would assign the age of Manu and his work at a much earlier date than either of the above two.

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With these preliminary remarks, I shall proceed to consider the subject of this essay under three heads :—

1) The books embodying ancient law.

2) The kinds of punishment inflicted upon the offenders.

3) The various offences with the penalties prescribed therefor.

Law Books.

Tradition records that the sacred Zoroastrian literature was much more extensive than what exists at present, and that it consisted of twenty-one Nasks, or sacred books, corresponding to the twenty-one words of the most sacred hymn, the 'Ahuna Vairya'. Of these Nasks, only two have been preserved in a somewhat complete form, *viz.*, the Vendidâd, and the Stût Yasht, which comprises the Yasna and the Visparad ; and four have been handed down to the present time in a fragmentary state, *viz.*, the Huspâram Nask, the Bagân Yasht, the Hâdokht, and the Vishtâsp Sâstê. No trace whatsoever can be found of the two Nasks, the Nâdar and the Vashtak. We have it on the authority of the Dînkard that these twenty-one Nasks were revealed by Ahura Mazda to Zoroaster, who brought them to King Vishtâsp. By the order of King Dârâb son of Dârâê, two copies were made of them ; one was deposited in the "Ganj-i Shapîgân" (the Royal Treasury), and the other in the "Dez-i Napesht" (the Fortress of Books). The Greek invasion by Alexander not only overthrew the Empire of Persia, but also brought about a complete destruction of the sacred literature of the Persians. It is also recorded that one of the Parthian Kings, Valkash, ordered the collection of all the scattered fragments of the Avesta. But the real work of restoring the Avesta literature was carried out by Ardashîr Pâpakân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, with the assistance of the learned high-priest Tûnsar. The Sassanian period is also very important for this reason that it was during this period that most of the Pahlavi books were written. The

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author of the Dînkard must have had before him most of the Avesta Nasks ; for in the eighth book he gives a short synopsis of their contents. It is from the third and eighth books of the Dînkard that we learn that the twenty-one Nasks were divided into three groups :— the Gâtha group, the legal group, and the miscellaneous group. The legal group consisted of seven Nasks, of which only the Vendidâd has been preserved in a complete form, and of the rest only a few fragments remain.

The Vendidâd is written in a catechitical form : answers by Ahura Mazda to questions by Zoroaster. The word literally means : 'the law against the Daevas (demons)', and being a religious writing, it mainly deals with offences against religion and morality, and very little with civil and criminal law strictly so called. Besides the Vendidâd, there is no other Avesta book on the criminal law of ancient Irân. There are, however, some Pahlavi books of the Sassanian period, which deal with criminal law ; but it cannot be said with certainty whether they deal with the law of their own period or of the Avesta period. It is just possible that they may be dealing with the law of both the periods ; for we saw in the case of the Dînkard that its author had before him almost all the Avesta Nasks.

Of these later writings only three are worth mentioning :— the Shâyest la Shâyest, the Dâdistân *i* Dînî, and the Ardâ Vîrâf Nâmah. The first of these, as its name signifies, treats of acts that are lawful or meritorious, and also those that are unlawful or sinful. The Dâdistân *i* Dînî (religious commandments), besides dealing with subjects religious, spiritual and astronomical, also deals with the sins of drunkenness, unlawful lust, adultery, and unlawful trading in corn and cattle. Unlike the Vendidâd, both these books do not prescribe the respective penalties along with the offences, probably because they were not meant to be recognised as legal codes. The Ardâ Vîrâf Nâmah is an account of the vision of a very pious priest named Ardâ Vîrâf, and the description of what he saw in Heaven and in Hell. This book relates at some length the

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various blessings and rewards which the souls of virtuous men and women enjoy in Heaven in return for their meritorious deeds in this world. It also contains the various tortures and punishments which the souls of the sinful receive in Hell for their worldly offences. The list of crimes mentioned in this book is rather long, thus showing the advanced legal state of the country at that time.

The Kinds of Punishment.

Almost all the sins mentioned in the Vendidâd are punishable with what are called "upâzana", and the number of upâzanas is proportional to the heinousness of the sin. The more heinous the sin, the greater the number of upâzanas. Again, as all sins are considered to be transgressions against the religion of Zoroaster, the heinousness of each particular sin depends upon the importance, efficacy and sacredness of the precept which it transgresses. Hence it is, that to a modern reader of the Vendidâd, the sins and their punishment will appear strangely disproportionate. Whereas the offence of causing a bloody wound is punished with only fifty upâzanas, and that of homicide with only ninety, 400 upâzanas are prescribed for the man who throws away a bone of a dead man as big as an arm bone, 800 for killing a shepherd's dog, and death for him who carries a dead body alone.

Again every offence is punishable with a two-fold penalty. The formula is shortly this: so many upâzanas with the horse-whip (aspahê ashtra) and the same number with the "Sraoshô-charana". It is very difficult to say with any degree of certainty as to what this punishment by upâzana is; and the double derivation of the word adds to our difficulty. Both derivations are plausible and applicable, and the sense in which we are to understand the punishment will depend upon which of the two derivations we choose to give to the word "upâzana". If we take the word as derived from Av. "zan", to strike, the punishment will be so many stripes or strokes with the horse-whip and with the Sraoshô-charana. But if we prefe

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to derive it from Av. "az", to drive, the formula will be translated somewhat thus: "Let the offender drive away (from the country) so many of those noxious animals which are fit to be driven away (or got rid of) with the horse-whip, and so many with the Sraoshô-charana".

With regard to the first interpretation, as the minimum number of upâzanas is five, and the maximum 10,000, we cannot but wonder, whether the ancient Irânians could endure so many stripes with the horse-whip, unless we fall back upon the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidâd, where, in the fourteenth Chapter, the commentator says that this bodily punishment was capable of being converted into fines, though nothing of the kind is mentioned in the original Vendidâd. And hence, on this supposition, the Pahlavi translator actually interprets the punishment as one of stripes with the whip.

The other interpretation is also plausible. It is possible that the country is abounding in noxious animals, and the punishment of driving them away from the country would be doubly useful. The offenders are punished, and at the same time the country is got rid of an evil. As all offences are considered to be violations of religious precepts, it is just possible that the object of compelling culprits to drive away noxious creatures was to cause a proportional destruction of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

Besides the punishment by upâzanas, there are mentioned other kinds of punishment which may be briefly noted. Death is expressly prescribed in two cases only. One who cleanses the unclean or those infected with a pestilential disease without having any knowledge of the rites of cleansing according to the Law of Mazda (IX, 47)[1], and one who carries a corpse alone (III, 14), are both liable to capital punishment. The reason is that both are believed to bring in death and pestilence, and to further the empire of the Evil Spirit. It may be mentioned

1. All references are to the Vendidâd.

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that capital punishment is not prescribed for homicide, because that would be an offence against one man only, whereas the two offences mentioned above would affect the health of all mankind.

There are again certain offences which are unatonable, (anâpêrêtha), such as the cremation and burial of dead bodies the unnatural offence, and others. There is no suitable punishment for such offenders in this world. They are considered unclean for ever and ever, and it is only after death that they are punished with the torments of Hell.

In all the above cases, the law is executed by proper authorities, probably the priests ; but there are certain offences in which any man can take the law into his own hands, and kill the offender, if caught in the very act, *viz.*, the burner of a corpse, and the committer of an unnatural offence.

As to the two offenders, last mentioned, if they are non-Zoroastrians, and do not know that the acts they are committing are sins according to the religion of Mazda, then their sins are wiped off by making a confession of that religion and undertaking never to commit such acts again. (III, 40, 41 and VIII, 28, 29).

Offences.

According to Zoroastrianism, a crime is an act or omission contrary to direct religious precepts ; and as the law of Zoroaster is mainly centered in the three most comprehensive terms, " humata, hûkhta, and hwarshta ", *i. e.*, good thoughts, good words, and good actions, an evil action, an evil speech or even an evil thought is made punishable with more or less severity according to the degree of harm it produces upon the good creations of Ahura Mazda.

" Never shun the three excellent things, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. Always avoid the three most abominable things, evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds ". (XVIII, 17).

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Another very important precept is to cultivate purity—purity in mind and in body.

"..... For purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good. Purity is the Mazdayasnian religion itself. Any man can cleanse his conscience with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds." (X, 18).

Herodotus relates that truthfulness was one of the three most important virtues which a Persian father would always inculcate upon his children to cherish; and indeed so much was the disgust with which falsehood was looked upon, that the Vendidâd makes deliberate falsehood punishable with no less than 700 upâzanas. (IV, 55). A man is also bound to return any property borrowed from another; if he does not do so, he is considered to have committed a theft in respect of the same. The same is the precept with regard to a money-debt (IV, 1).

Falsehood and dishonesty are closely allied to the offence of breach of contract. Contracts are of six kinds:—

1. The word-contract, 2. the hand-contract, (*i.e.*, given by striking hands), 3. the contract to the amount of a sheep (*i.e.*, relating to a sheep or any other article of the value of a sheep), 4. the contract to the amount of an ox, 5. the contract to the amount of a man (probably relating to promise of marriage, or apprenticeship), 6. and the contract to the amount of a country (*i.e.*, relating to the sale or exchange, or any other assignment of land). (IV, 2).

The verbal contract is lowest in value. And if the second contract is made after the first remains unperformed, the latter is merged in the former, and so on with regard to the rest. (IV, 3-4). The breach of the first kind of contract is punishable with 300 upâzanas, of the second with 600, third with 700, fourth with 800, fifth with 900, and the sixth with 1000 upâzanas. (IV, 11-16). These are rather hard punishments, showing how breach of faith was regarded by ancient Per-

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sians. One peculiarity with regard to this offence is worth noticing. The offender it seems, by such breach of faith, betrays his want of principles and lays himself open to the indignity of being looked upon as a person of low origin, it being in those simple times always taken for granted that a man of sound moral principles and of noble birth would never stoop to such baseness. Such a man therefore not only debases himself but by such conduct brings his whole family into disgust. Hence the Vendidâd prescribes that his nearest relations shall also undergo similar penalties. (IV, 5-10).

The Vendidâd observes only incidentally that a man is bound to return any property borrowed by him from another, and failure to do so would amount to theft. It does not even mention the punishment for it. That scanty reference to the law of property is due to the fact that at such an early period there was very little of property properly so called, on which to exercise any rights. The law of property is comparatively a modern development. But such was not the case with regard to the law relating to rights of physical safety, and it is extremely interesting to note how the Vendidâd distinguishes the various stages of bodily injuries, such as can be found only in modern treatises on the law of torts and crimes.

"If a man rises up to smite a man (or according to a later commentary, seizes a weapon with a view to smite another), he commits an 'Âgerepta'. If he rushes upon a man (or brandishes a weapon), he commits an 'Avaoirishta'. If a man maliciously smites a man (but without inflicting a wound), he commits an 'Aredûsh'." (IV, 17).

These three bodily injuries are separately defined, because they are known by distinct names. Five others of a more serious nature are mentioned below, but they are not so designated by technical names.

The 'Âgerepta' committed for the first time is punished with five upâzanas; and if the same offence is repeated a second time, the punishment is ten upâzanas, and similarly the number

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is increased to 15, 30, 50, 70, and 90, according as the offence is repeated a third, fourth, fifth, sixth, or seventh time respectively. If after committing the same offence seven times, it is repeated an eighth time, the offender becomes a 'tanâfûr' (sinful in body), and is liable to a punishment of 200 upâzanas (IV, 18-20).

It will be seen that all the other bodily injuries are also similarly punished with an increased number of upâzanas, if they are repeated over and over again. These offences after a certain number of repetitions make the offender 'tanâfûr' with a penalty of 200 upâzanas. The more heinous the offence, the less the number of repetitions which make the offender 'tanâfûr'.

The punishment for the first 'Avaoirishta' is ten upâzanas. The number then rises as in the case of the 'Âgerepta', until the sixth repetition of the same offence is punished with ninety, and the seventh makes the offender 'tanâfûr' with a penalty of 200 upâzanas. (IV, 22-24).

The first 'Aredâsh' is punished with fifteen upâzanas, and the 'tanâfûr' is reached on the sixth repetition (IV, 26-28).

Next follow cases of hurt more or less grievous. Whoever causes a sore wound to another is liable for the first such act to a punishment of thirty upâzanas. This offence, if repeated five times renders the offender 'tanâfûr'. (IV, 30-32).

If from the wound blood issues forth, the punishment is fifty upâzanas, and the fourth repetition makes a 'tanâfûr'. (IV, 34-35).

If the blow is so severe as to break a bone, the punishment is seventy upâzanas, and the third repetition makes a 'tanâfûr' (IV, 37-38).

And lastly, if in consequence of the blow, the injured man becomes senseless, (or according to Darmesteter, if he gives up the ghost), the penalty is ninety upâzanas, and a single repetition amounts to a 'tanâfûr' (IV, 40-41).

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We thus see that the slightest injury to human body is strictly prohibited. But the prohibition also extends to injuries to innocent and useful animals, such as dogs, and it will be seen from the punishments given below, that the latter offences are more heinous than the former. The reason is this. Take for instance the dog that watches the street. Whereas an injury to a human being would affect only one individual, or at most his near relations, an injury to a street-dog would affect all the inhabitants of the street, because they are thereby deprived of protection from thieves and wolves.

"Whosoever shall smite either a shepherd's dog, or a street-dog, or a vohunazga[1] dog or a trained dog, his soul when passing to the other world, shall fly (from paradise) amid louder howling and fiercer pursuit than the sheep does, when the wolf rushes upon it in the lofty forest.

"No soul will come and meet his departing soul and help it through the howls and pursuit in the other world; nor will the dogs that keep the Chinvat[2] bridge help it through the same." (XIII, 8, 9).

In early times sheep and cattle were perhaps the only moveable property capable of any value. These, when in a great number, were usually placed under the watch of strong dogs for fear of wolves and other ferocious animals, which seem to have abounded in large numbers in those times. Hence, whoever deprives a flock of sheep or cattle of the protection of such a shepherd's dog by killing it, commits a serious offence, and is punished with no less than 800 upâzanas (XIII, 12). The punishment for killing a street-dog is 700 upâzanas (XIII, 13), for killing a "vohunazga" 600 (XIII, 14), for killing a 'tauruna' (a young

1. It is a vagrant dog, supposed to eat up corpses. It is one of those dogs capable of smiting the Nasush.

2. A mythological bridge leading from this world to the next. The soul of man, after death, is supposed to pass over it.

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dog) 500 (XIII, 15). There are other dogs named 'Jazu,' 'Vizu,' 'Sukuruna', etc. What they and their functions are we do not know, but the punishment for killing these and all other dogs is 500 upâzanas (XIII, 16).

All the dogs mentioned above are more or less useful, and not only killing them, but even giving them bad food would be an offence; because then they would not be able to maintain their power and strength to perform their respective functions. But there is another kind of dog, not yet noticed, which requires special mention, because there is something mythological regarding its birth and its usefulness in this world. It is the 'Udra,' or the water-dog.

The Vendidâd relates that when a dog dies, "its ghost passes to the spring of the waters; and there out of every thousand dogs and every thousand she-dogs, two water-dogs are formed, a water-dog and a water she-dog. He who kills a water-dog brings about a drought that dries up pastures"; and the country will not prosper, "until the murderer of the water-dog has been smitten to death, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered up sacrifice for three days and three nights with fire blazing, with baresma tied up, and with Haoma up-lifted." (XIII, 50-55). The whole of the 14th Fargard of the Vendidâd contains a series of hard punishments for killing an "Udra," which are difficult to be undergone, but one of which the offender must undergo, if he wishes to save his soul. Some of them are—undergoing 10,000 upâzanas, killing 10,000 noxious creatures, such as, snakes, frogs, corn-carrying ants, horrid flies, etc., bringing into fire 10,000 loads of dry, hard, and well-examined wood; and performing 10,000 Yasna ceremonies.—(XIV).

I now come to certain offences relating to women in menstruation, adultery and abortion. The condition of a woman in menses is considered to be impure,

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and hence a dry and solitary place in the house should be assigned to her. Such a place must be away from all the good creations of Ahura Mazda, *e. g.*, fire, water, man, &c., (XVI, 1—3). The food to be given to such a woman is also limited in quantity and quality, otherwise the flow would continue longer (XVI, 7). The period of the flow is between 3 and 9 days (XVI, 8—10). On the day after the stoppage, the woman should wash herself twice with cow's urine and once with water (XVI, 12). If the flow continues even after the 9th day, it is considered as a disease, and steps must be taken to check it (XVI, 11). But on no account should the flow be checked within nine days, for that would lead to irregularity in the course in future, and generally to the detriment of the woman's health. Such an act would amount to a 'tanâfûr' punishable with 200 upâzanas (XVI, 13).

It is prescribed that a woman in menses should not touch fire, water, man, &c., because she is impure. Cohabitation with such a woman is strictly prohibited, on the ground that it is injurious to both parties. The act is considered as sinful as the act of a man burning his own son in fire. (XVI, 17). The punishment for this offence ranges from thirty to ninety upâzanas according to the number of repetitions (XVI, 14—16).

These rather mild punishments are for the man and it is assumed that he is ignorant of the woman's condition. The woman is punished more severely, because she knows her own condition; and if the man is also aware of the same, both are liable to a penalty of 1000 upâzanas, or they must perform certain other righteous acts to save their souls; *e.g.*, killing 1000 snakes, burning 1000 loads of fragrant fuel on the sacred fire, &c. (XVIII, 67-74).

Cohabitation with a pregnant woman is also prohibited, on the ground that it would result in injuries both to the woman and the child in embryo. It might also lead to

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miscarriage. The prohibited period[1] commences from the time when milk is produced in the woman's breasts or when the child is vivified. This act also amounts to a tanâfûr. (XV, 8).

All the above acts are more or less offences against morality and religious precepts, and are not made punishable by modern criminal law. Strictly speaking, no party has a right to complain, as the acts are committed by mutual consent, and he or she who would have a right to complain is equally guilty with the other. Not so with respect to the offences of adultery, fornication and abortion. They are made punishable by the Vendidâd as well as by the modern criminal law as infringing religious precepts and public morality.

If a man by sexual intercourse with a maiden, who may be or may not be under the protection of her parents, who may be or may not be betrothed, makes her quick with child, and if on account of worldly shame, the girl causes miscarriage by means of some drugs, both the man and the girl are equally guilty. If the parents, after knowing the condition of their daughter, acquiesce in the act of abortion, they are also equally liable. If an old hag procures some poisonous drugs prepared from the trees 'Bangha,' 'Shaeta,' 'Ghnâta,' and 'Fraspâta' for the purpose of dissolving the fruit in the embryo, she also is liable for the same offence, *viz.*, wilful murder (XV, 9-14). Once the offence of fornication is committed, it should not be doubled by further procuring an abortion. Nature must then be allowed to have its own course. After the birth of such bastard child, the man who brought about the pregnancy is in duty bound to maintain it, until it comes of age. (XV, 18).

One offence more, and this rather long list of indelicate and disgusting offences is over. It is the unnatural offence. Both the man who commits it, and the man on whom it is

1. Later writers fix this period at 4 months and 10 days.

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committed are equally guilty. It may be noticed that the former only is held guilty by the modern criminal law. The Vendidâd does not prescribe any punishment for this offence, because it considers the offenders as 'Daevas' or demons, and no punishment would be adequate for them in this world. They are 'daevas' in both the worlds. In short the sin is unatonable. (VIII, 31-32, and I, 12).

Besides the offences mentioned above, there are a great many others, which are peculiar to Zoroastrianism alone, and which would not find a place in criminal law strictly so called. I shall mention only some of them.

I shall first deal with the Zoroastrian mode of disposal of a dead body. As soon as life is extinct, the soul departs from the body and goes to the other world, where it reaches on the dawn of the fourth day. But the body immediately begins to decompose. This is admirably expressed by the Vendidâd figuratively saying that the 'Druj Nasush' (the demon of decomposition) rushes upon it. Hence it becomes absolutely necessary to dispose it off in a manner which is at once speedy and also least harmful to public health. The Zoroastrian mode of disposal by exposing the body on the top of a hill and getting it devoured by vultures serves both these purposes. On no account should the body be burnt or buried. The dead decomposed body is considered the most impure thing in the world, and should not be brought in contact with the good creations, *e. g.*, fire, water, earth, man, &c. Besides polluting fire, the burning of a dead body renders the surrounding atmosphere very obnoxious and dangerous to public health. It also is considered an unatonable sin. (I, 17). Again the place wherein dead bodies are buried is considered the abode of demons. (VII, 56.) There are produced therein innumerable germs of fever and other diseases (VII, 58), and the period of the complete annihilation of the corpse is prolonged to more than 50 years (VII, 48), and hence the cultivation of such a soil is pro-

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hibited, till it is rendered altogether devoid of all traces of the corpse.

Celibacy is strictly prohibited. Every man must make it a point to get married at the proper age, and live in a settled home with his family. For a wandering life inevitably leads to idleness and lawlessness; whereas a family-man must out of necessity lead a life of industry, frugality and honesty. (IV, 47-54.)

Of course the Vendidâd prescribes that every individual must try to act according to the precepts of Zoroastrianism, and every Zoroastrian must preach to others the true principles of Zoroastrianism. But whoever by misrepresentation leads a righteous man away from the path of piety, and teaches him a wrong creed commits a 'tanâfûr.' (XV, 2.)

A candidate for the medical profession, before he is considered qualified for the same, must never prescribe medicines nor perform any operation upon a Zoroastrian. He may perform three successive operations upon non-Zoroastrians, and if he succeeds in all of them, he is considered qualified as a doctor, and may thereafter practise his profession upon Zoroastrians and non-Zoroastrians. But if he successively fails in his first three operations, he is considered disqualified for ever, and if, thereafter, he performs any operation upon anybody and causes him injuries, he is considered to be guilty of voluntarily causing hurt. (VII, 36-40).

Besides these offences, there are mentioned in the Vendidâd several others, which I have not noticed here, because they deal exclusively with religious rites and the consequences of their non-observance. At the same time I have not noticed a number of other offences mentioned in the later Pahlavi writings of the Sassanian period, because my object is to indicate the nature of the criminal law of Irân in remote antiquity. Before concluding, I cannot resist the temptation of expressing my firm belief that the

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inference, to which one would be led on surveying the picture of the criminal law as depicted above, must necessarily be this, that at a time when the world was in its infancy and when the other countries were totally or semi-barbarous, Irân showed signs of civilization, such as would favourably compare with that of modern times. That was certainly due to the influence of the teachings of Zoroaster and his disciples.

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FRASHOKARD AND RE-BIRTH.

(By Khan Bahadoor Nowrojee Dorabjee Khandalawala, B. A. L. L. B.)

A genuine desire to understand as far as possible, the Divine Order under which we live, and afterwards diligently to observe that Order, form one of the most pleasurable and serviceable of duties that we can render to ourselves and others. True culture demands the explanation of all dogmas and observances, and it cannot be made, blindly to support unreasoning religious indolence. Systematic culture is a great agent for clearing up our ideas and helping us to lay down principles for our course of action.

The true study of the Avesta lies as much in correctly interpreting the words and sentences of the old and fragmentary religious writings of ancient Irân, as in trying to understand in their real spirit the thoughts and teachings embodied in those scriptures.

The principle that seems to govern the decrees of the Divine Power above us has been explained in the Gâthas as follows :—

> "Up to the final end of the creation, Thou shalt, O Mazda! through thy good Law, give evil to the evil, and good blessings to the pure, as recompense (to men) according to their deeds and thoughts." *

There is no favouritism in that Law, and the power Divine from whom it emanates, sees and marks everything, so that exact recompense or retribution follows every act or thought, although in dealing out the results justice may appear to us to be long delayed.

* Y. 43 § 5.

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Every action and every thought is a prolific parent of cognate results, and men but reap what they sow. Did they sow anything in the past, and are they reaping to-day the effects of their actions in a past life? Will they again have to come back to a new life on earth for further progress, or have all men commenced life on this earth for the first time, so that they will have only one life on this earth, and all the rewards and recompenses that cannot be obtained in this world will be somehow made good only in an invisible and intangible world after death? These are questions that have exercised the best minds of all ages, and dogmas containing greater or less philosophical speculation have been propounded by various religions concerning them. The Mazdean religion is evidently not satisfied with a single life on earth for men. The difficulties and evils of this life are so great and manifold, and so few go out of this world after even a moderately peaceful life, that the longing to revisit this earth, under more favourable circumstances often makes itself felt in the hearts of men.

In searching after the obstacles to a happy life on earth, a mighty Power of Evil opposing the benign Power of Good, and leading men astray, comes very easily to be postulated. On the devoted head of this imaginary monster are hurled untold imprecations so that men may idly extenuate their offences and shortcomings. It is supposed that if Ahriman, the father of evil and of lies, ceased to exist, there would soon be heaven upon earth for mortals.

Men, therefore, are taught to wait for ages till the period of the activity of that perverse being may come to an end, and a renovation of the world and of men could be brought about by the efforts of the Power of Good—including the holy ones of our earth.

The philosophic references to the dark or evil mind in the Gâthas have been exaggerated in the later Avesta, which has pictured Angro-mainyush as a subtle and terrific person-

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ality, the prototype of the Western Satan, at whose door innumerable sins are laid and whose destruction is longed for to bring about a happy resurrection of mortal lives.

In the Gâthas, the oldest Zoroastrian writings extant, we have two important references regarding the renovation of human life on earth.

> "May we be like those who made life new (*ferashem kerenaun ahum.*)" *
>
> "By means of Thy Power, and according to Thy Will, mayst Thou O Mazda! truly grant (me) renovated life (*ferashem dâo ahum.*)" †

The idea contained in these lines is not any further expanded in any other place in the Gâthas, and it is unfortunate that the writers of these sacred stanzas, who were far more consistent and philosophic in their apprehension of religious truths than the writers of the later Avesta, did not treat more fully of the conception they had of a renovated and progressed life on earth.

In the Zamyâd Yasht we read:—

> "So that they (the Saoshyants) may restore the world, which will never grow old, and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, *when the dead will rise*, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish.
>
> "When the creation will grow deathless, the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit, and the Druj will perish, though she may rush on every side, to kill the holy Beings, she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as is the Will of God."

In one of the miscellaneous Avesta fragments we read as follows:—

> "Let Angra-mainyush be hid beneath the earth, let the Daevas likewise disappear, *let the dead arise*, and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies." ‡

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* Y. 30 § 9. † Y. 34 § 15.

‡ S. B. E. Vol. XXXI, p. 391.

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In chapter XXX of the Pahlavi Bundahishn we have an account given of the resurrection and future existence. After the coming of Soshiosh, the future Saviour of mankind, they prepare, it is said, the raising of the dead, and the question is asked, how the bodily form, which has long ago been scattered, and has disappeared in the various elements, could again be reformed. To this Ahura Mazda is made to give a reply that as, through His Power, all the countless forms and existences of this earth and that of the heavens arose, and that as He created each and all of them, — and it was more difficult to form each and all of these for the first time, as they did not come out of the past, — so it was easier for Him to produce the resurrection of bodies as these had existed once before, and could be called back again into existence with less difficulty. All men, it is said, will stand in the assembly of *Sadvâstarân*, every one seeing his own good or evil deeds, when the wicked will be separated by the righteous, and for three days and nights bodily punishment in hell will be inflicted on the former. Then will come the producers of the renovation, those righteous ones of whom it is written that they are still living,—fifteen men and fifteen damsels,—who assist Soshiosh. All men then have to pass through molten metal, to become pure. The righteous feel the metal, as if it were warm milk, but the wicked suffer from the intense heat. Thereafter all men come together with the greatest affection, and know each other, as father and son, brother and sister &c. Those, who had lived up to maturity, are restored as if they were forty years old, and those who had died young are renovated as youths of fifteen years. Every one is given his wife and children, and they act then, as they act now, but there is no more begetting of children. Afterwards Soshiosh and his assistants give every one the reward and recompense suitable to his deeds—"that is even the righteous existence, where, it is said, they convey him to Paradise and the Heaven of Ahuramazda takes up the body *(Kehrp)*, as itself requires,

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and with that assistance, he continually advances for ever and everlasting."

It has also been said of Sâm (Keresâspa) that he became immortal, but owing to his disregard of the Mazdean religion a Tartar named Nihâg, wounded him when he was asleep, and this brought on unnatural lethargy, but the glory of the heavens stands over him, that he may rise up again and slay Azi Dahâk when the latter happens to be unfettered. Just before the resurrection, Sraosha and Nairyosangha are ordered to shake the body of Keresâspa the Sâmân till he rises up. They go to him and utter a cry three times, and at the fourth, Sâm rises up in triumph, and kills Azi Dahâk. Afterwards dissolution and adversity depart from the world, and Soshiosh makes the creatures pure, and the resurrection and future existence occur. *

Some recondite truths of archaic religious knowledge are here mixed up with crude fancy to suit the popular mind of by-gone days. The writers of these statements, not being acquainted with the doctrine of evolution, which was taught only in the ancient Mysteries, seem to have assumed that every form of existence, that springs up, is created for the first time, and that bodily life is comparatively of more significance than the Soul within. Assuming that the soul entered a physical body only once, they had an intense anxiety to get that same body revivified at the end of the world. They seem, however, to have been forgetful of the important fact, that the soul, which had been made pure in heaven at the final stage, would require a far superior and differently constituted body than the old body that was dropped thousands of years ago. To force the progressed soul after long ages of growth to take up again its old body would be far worse than asking a great musical genius to show his musical skill by playing upon a crude musical instrument of some of the barbarian tribes. If

* Bd Ch. XXIX, 7 and B. Yt. Ch. III, §§ 59, 60.

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the wishes of the departed souls could be consulted, they would certainly be found to prefer to come back on earth in bodies far better constituted and would hardly show a liking for putting on again their worn out and defective fleshly garments. In the age after the Gâthas spiritual truths came to be too much materialized, and the old teachings regarding the capacities, growth and evolution of the soul came to be lost sight of.

In the Bundahishn (Ch. II, §§ 10, 11) it is said that

> "Auhrmazd deliberated with the consciousness (bôd) and guardian spirits (fravâhar) of men, and the omniscient wisdom brought forward among men, spoke thus:—"Which seems to you the more advantageous when I shall present you to the world? that you shall contend in a bodily form with the fiend (druj), and the fiend shall perish, and in the end I shall have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and in the end give you back to the world, and you will be wholly immortal, undecaying and undisturbed; or that it be always necessary to provide you protection from the destroyer?
>
> "Thereupon the guardian spirits of men became of the same opinion with the Omniscient Wisdom about going to the world, on account of the evil that comes upon them in the world from the fiend, and their becoming at last again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting."

This description, regarding the object with which the *Farohars* or more properly the *Fravashis*, of men are sent into the world, is greatly suggestive. It would take too long here to try to explain, the conception underlying the idea about the *Fravashis*, their origin, and development; but it may be suggested in short, that the *Fravashis* of men are the archtypal souls clothed in ethereal forms, after whose model each human being is formed on earth. The *Fravashis* may be called the causal souls in causal spiritual bodies, after whose pattern each child is constituted and shaped. The popular conception appears to be that each human *Fravashi* is made by Ahuramazda in the spiritual world for the first time, and afterwards it is sent into the world of matter, and linked to

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a human body to fight against evil. Nothing has been said as to whether all *Fravashis* are equal in their respective powers and capacities, but it is tacitly assumed that such must be the case. The question therefore arises that if the *Fravashis* be all possessed of equal powers, how comes it that human bodies are so variously formed, and how can all the *Fravashis* having like powers, get sufficient opportunities for using their capacities, when each one is weighted with a body differently constituted.

The very conception, however, of a *Fravashi* as an archtypal causal soul, implies that each *Fravashi* is the pattern type both for the inner powers, and the outward form of the bodily existence. The body of each man, with its peculiar physical, mental, moral, and spiritual capacities, is shaped and formed after the model which each particular *Fravashi* presents, and therefore it has to be admitted that the differences that we find among men, are due to the differences in the *archtypal souls* or *Fravashis* which inhere in mortal bodies.

This explanation however, removes the cause of the differences in men, from the physical world to the invisible world where the *Fravashis* may be said to arise. We have now to find some explanation as to the differences among the *Fravashis* themselves. Has the Almighty created these differences among the *Fravashis* simply to please His Divine Will, or is there a profound plan, an inscrutable justice, underlying the creation of these differences. Limited and faulty though our conception of the Divine Power may be, we can never dissociate the ideas of harmony and justice, from the acts of God, and according to that view, we cannot but take it for granted that owing to numerous and sufficient causes, the *Fravashis* as they arise in the invisible world are made with comparatively endless differences. The *Fravashis* are not special creations without a past, nor are they created all at once for the first time. They are as much the product of evolution and of slow and steady growth, as everything else in this world.

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It may be suggested as a working hypothesis, that as the *Fravashis* pass from the spiritual down into the physical world, and after the death of the body repass again into the heavenly sphere, this passing and repassing is not to be taken as limited to one single trip, but occurs again and again till the *Fravashi* becomes perfect, and able to withstand all the temptations of matter. The pilgrimages of each *Fravashi* are many on this earth. Each time it is allied to, and is the cause of the formation of a human body, and each time it makes a renewed attempt to subjugate and lead aright the passions and desires of the bodily existence. Each time it makes some little progress, though there may be a decline also in some directions, and each time, after disconnecting itself from one body it goes into the ethereal world with fresh experiences, and *takes a long repose* to digest those experiences, to come again into the world, and contend again in a bodily form with greater and renewed capacities each time for struggling against evil.

We may take now a passing note of the doctrine of re-incarnation and of transmigration. Says the late Professor Goldstücker in his Literary Remains:—

> "Transmigration, or the passing from one plane, state or condition into another, means the supposed transition of the soul after death, into another substance or body than that which it occupied before. The belief in such a transition is one of the most important phases in the religions of mankind. It was common to the most uncivilized, and the most civilized nations of the earth; it was the object of phantastic superstition, as well as that of philosophic speculation, and is the property of both ancient and modern times. Its basis being the assumption, that the human soul does not perish with the body.
>
> "The belief in transmigration when it is based on ethical grounds, proceeds from the theory that the human souls, being of divine essence, are originally pure, but during their earthly career lose their purity. Being destined, however, to regain their original quality, they are reborn again and again, until they have become free from fault, and thus worthy of re-entering the place of their origin.

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" A belief of this nature was entertained by the old Mexicans, and probably also by the Druids. It is met with in a more developed form with the old Egyptians, but its real importance, it obtained as a tenet of the religion and philosophy of the Brahmanical Hindus and the Buddhists, whence it passed into the doctrine of several philosophers of ancient Greece, and into that of some Jewish and Christian sects.

" In Greece, the doctrine of transmigration—or as it was there called *metempsychosis*—did not become the belief of the people, but was confined to the teachings of the mysteries, and the tenets of philosophers. Its importance in Greek philosophy it first obtained, through the system of Pythagoras. After him it was Plato who assigned to it a prominent place in his philosophy, as explained in his dialogues especially '*Phædrus*'. It was revived though in a modified shape by the Neo-Platonists.

" Amongst the Jews the doctrine of transmigration—*the Gilgal Neshamoth*,—was taught in the mystical system of the *Kabala*. Among the early Christians, St. Jerome relates that the doctrine of transmigration was taught as a traditional and esoteric one, which was only communicated to a select few; and Origenes like the Kabalists, considers it as the only means, of explaining some biblical traditions, as that of the struggle of Jacob and Esau before their birth; or the selection of Jeremiah when he was not yet born, and many more events which could throw discredit on Divine justice, unless they were justified by good or bad acts, done in a former life. Of Christian sects the Manichæans especially adhered to this belief.

" In concluding, at least one great philosopher of modern times may here be named, as one whose *views of the progress of mankind are based on the same doctrine*. It is the celebrated German critic G. E. Lessing, who endeavoured to establish it on metaphysical grounds. His arguments are briefly these: 'The soul is a simple being, capable of infinite conceptions. But being a finite being, it is not capable of such infinite conceptions *at the same time. It must obtain them, gradually in an infinite succession of time.* If, however, it obtain them gradually, there must be an order in which, and a degree to which, these conceptions are required. This order and the measure are the senses. At present the soul has of such senses five; *but neither is there any ground to assume, that it has commenced with having five senses, nor that it will stop*

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there. For since nature never takes a leap, the soul must have gone through all the lower stages before it arrived at that which it occupies now ..... *and since nature contains many substances and powers which are not accessible to those senses with which it is now endued, it must be assumed that there will be future stages, at which the soul will have as many senses, as correspond with the powers of nature.* And this my system', he concludes in his little but important essay, *Das mehr als fünf Sinne für den Menschen sein Können*—in a fragmentary note discovered after his death—'*this my system is certainly the oldest of all philosophical systems; for it is in reality no other than the system of the pre-existence of the soul and metempsychosis,* which did not only occupy the speculation of Pythagoras and Plato, but also before them of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Persians—in short of all the sages of the East; *and this circumstance alone ought to work a good prejudice in its favour; for the first and oldest opinion is, in matters of speculation, always the most probable, because common sense immediately hit upon it.*' "

In the Persian Desatir, the doctrine of re-incarnation has been very clearly mentioned. Although the Desatir cannot be called an orthodox Zoroastrian book, its philosophical teachings seem to have been followed by various Zoroastrian thinkers and mystics in ancient Irân, and the Mahâbâdian sect were its firm adherents.

There are two reasons why the popular doctrine of transmigration did not attract the attention of the Zoroastrians in ancient times. It has been firstly told by some believers in transmigration, that the soul, no sooner it leaves one body, enters a new one, without any rest, in an intermediate ethereal state. *Secondly*, it is supposed that the souls of men after death according to their deeds, enter the bodies of the lower animals, or of trees, or of stones. Regarding these two views, it has been rightly observed by many, that an intermediate ethereal or heavenly state of rest after the death of one body, is a necessity for the soul, according to some of the observed laws of nature; and *thirdly*, that the soul of man, being in

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its higher nature, a *differentiated* entity, which is found only in man, can never be allied to animals, and would have no fit place in an animal body. Re-incarnation as taught in the popular Hindu and Buddhistic teachings takes no notice of the fact that the human soul is something higher and distinct from the soul of animals; and to suppose that the human soul owing to its misdeeds in one human life, is sent in its next birth to an animal body, is to send it to a vehicle where there is no place for its activity, and where it would have no opportunity of retrieving its past conduct. Man alone is *self-conscious* on this earth. Animals have no self-consciousness; neither do they know any moral responsibility. The self-conscious human soul therefore, can never find its way into an animal body, much less into a tree or a stone. Whatever the allegorical explanation of the popular Hindu doctrine of re-incarnation as to the human soul's going into animal and vegetable forms may be, this defective theory of re-incarnation has been one of the principal causes that has prevented many minds from seriously considering the subject.

The doctrine of reincarnation derived from ancient Theosophical teachings is materially different from the popular Hindu doctrine of transmigration. According to the former teaching the human soul, however degraded it may become in its earthly human life, can never be forced to go into an animal, a tree or a stone, but has to reincarnate in a human body only. That human body and its surroundings would be exactly suitable to the deeds of the soul in its former human life, and it is after numerous such births in human bodies that the soul, by slow degrees, finds the means and the opportunities to make upward progress.

The human soul again cannot at once pass, after the death of one human body, into another human body, but it has to go through a state of purgatory for a few years, and afterwards it enjoys an immensely long period of bliss before it again goes

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into a new human body. The state of purgatory called *Kâma-loka* may be compared to the *Hamestagân* of Mazdean teachings. Here the soul is said to sojourn for some twenty to thirty years, and in some cases much longer, to get rid of the longings of its earthly appetites and desires. In the absence of the physical body which is the instrument of their gratification these desires by degrees go into a state of latency or sleep, and the soul with all its nobler aims and aspirations enters a state of heavenly bliss. This state called *Devakhân*, *Svarga*, *Sukhâvati*, *Behesht* or *Paradise* affords the soul the opportunity of enjoying far reaching happiness, as all the anxieties, vexations, disappointments, and griefs are left behind with the desire-body in *Hamestagân* or *Kâma-loka*, and no sorrow casts its shadow on the soul in its state of heavenly felicity. From a thousand to fifteen hundred years is said to be the duration of the soul's life in *Behesht*, and the greater the purity of the soul in its earth-life the longer is its life in Paradise. To us human beings on earth, who have only a short span of fifty or sixty years generally to pass through, this long long period of *Devakhanic* or *Beheshtic* happiness would appear almost endless, and after that period if the soul went into a sleep of forgetfulness and passed into a new human body, it would look as if a new soul (freshly created) had taken possession of the body of a human child.

The length of life in Kâma-loka depends upon the greater or less tenacity and strength of the appetites and desires ; and in the same manner the duration of life in *Behesht* is in proportion to the unselfish, benevolent, kindly and noble thoughts and aspirations and other high ideas that may be brought with it by the soul. The longest life in *Behesht* however must come to an end, as all the noble feelings and aspirations being revolved over and over again in numerous ways spend their energy, and become stored in the soul as faculties for further action. When the work of the soul in *Behesht* gets finished, it goes for a short time in a state of sleep and just as it shakes

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off its trance it finds that the seeds of the former desires and appetites which it had left behind in a state of latency in *Kâma-loka*, have taken again a new form, in which it soon gets enshrouded. Thus we might say a new *Fravashi* is evolved out of the one that had gone into *Behesht*, and this newly developed *pattern-soul* seeks out and moulds for itself a human shape on earth, as an instrument for its action which requires a bodily form to work out the faculties and powers that are now active within the soul.

The institution of the so-called '*Mysteries*' in religion was almost universal in ancient times. Only a few selected persons were admitted into it and taught under secrecy some of the hidden truths, both physical and metaphysical. The great reverence that was attached to the name of Zoroaster in the olden times can scarcely be attributed to the teachings of the later Avesta, but evidently had its source in some of the secret philosophical and mystical teachings, which were attributed to this great sage. It is highly probable that Spitama Zarathushtra expounded more elaborately and philosophically many of the teachings,—to which only short references are to be found in the Gâthas,—to some of his chosen disciples, who transmitted the same in their turn to others. For various reasons the sages and teachers of old gave only a few hints, regarding some of the deeper mysteries of life to the common people and leaving out details imparted merely bare outlines regarding the struggles and the immediate consequences of a single life. They kept silent as to matters that would happen centuries afterwards. For the untutored minds of the multitude of those times, it was thought sufficient to make them think of an ethereal and heavenly life, after the life on earth, and it seems to have been thought appropriate not to confuse their simple faith, by putting before them that elaborate exposition which would be necessary to make clear the true doctrine of reincarnation.

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The final resurrection spoken of in the later Avesta is an allusion to the last of a series of rebirths of the soul, which having progressed by degrees attains such a high state of physical, mental, moral and spiritual perfection, that it attains to a state of Godhood upon Earth. The earth itself and the numerous other manifestations thereon also evolve *pari passu*, to suit the advent of a higher humanity. The doctrine of the *Frashokard* or *Frashô-kereti*, which means renewed life, is a short page torn out of the last chapter of the culmination of numerous rebirths. For the uneducated people it was deemed sufficient, four thousand years ago in Irân, to cut short long explanations by putting forward the theory of special creations in each case, to leave the purification of the soul to be performed by higher Powers in an invisible world, and to satisfy the longing for a second chance of earthly life by promising the resurrection of human bodies at the last stage of the world.

Viewed, however, from the stand-point of the law of evolution, the theory of special creation in every case has to give place to the evolution of forms and souls by slow degrees, and the theosophical doctrine of the rebirth of the soul naturally comes in as a part of the scheme of the Divine Law of evolution. The popular imagination and aspirations of men who are not accustomed to think systematically or logically and to carry inquiries to their ultimate conclusions, may feel satisfied with dogmatic assertions, about a final resurrection, and perfection attained without renewed personal efforts in many lives. But the mind that is imbued with a true spirit of research would require far more satisfactory explanations which could only be given on the basis of the doctrine of rebirth.

In speaking of scientific culture the late Professor Huxley thus expresses himself.

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> "The notions of the beginning and the end of the world, entertained by our forefathers are no longer credible. It is very certain that the earth is not the chief body in the Universe, and that the world is not subordinated to man's use. *It is even more certain that nature is the expression of a definite order with which nothing interferes and that the chief business of mankind is to learn that order and govern themselves accordingly.* Moreover this scientific criticism of life presents itself to us with different credentials from any other. It appeals not to authority, nor to what anybody may have thought or said, but to nature. It admits that all our interpretations of natural facts are more or less imperfect and symbolic, and bids the learner seek for truth, *not among words, but among things.*"

If rebirth for men in this world be a law of nature, the occurrence of that law cannot be ignored owing to mere assertions however great their authority. Rebirth may be looked upon in the first instance as a mere working hypothesis, and then the *pros* and *cons* regarding it may be patiently examined. To the persevering student there will be revealed such a wealth of facts and probabilities in favour of the theory that after a time he will commence to think how he had hitherto ignored so important a law of nature. The literature of this subject has in recent years greatly increased, and those who feel disposed to inquire into the same with an unbiassed mind would find numerous solutions of the many objections that could possibly be raised against the theory.

All the teachings of Spitama Zarathushtra have not come down to us. Only a few of his teachings in a fragmentary form have remained. The allusions to the "*renovated life*," in the Gâthas, though short, are suggestive, and they need not necessarily be understood as explained in the later Avesta. They could be made to yield an exposition more in consonance with the true doctrine of rebirth. The idea of rebirth has not been opposed nor contradicted in any place in the Avesta. It is a part of the knowledge of universal religion, and should not be looked upon as a dogma of any particular faith. The

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inequalities of human life in this world cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way than by means of this doctrine which demands the reverent inquiry of all right thinking men. We may fitly conclude this short sketch by quoting some lines from the "*De Profundis*" of the late Poet Laureate, Lord Tennyson, who thus alludes to rebirth :—

> "Live thou, and of the grain and husk, the grape
> And ivy-berry choose ; *and still depart*
> *From death to death, thro' life and life*, and find
> Nearer and ever nearer Him who wrought
> Not matter, nor the finite-infinite,
> But this main miracle that thou art thou,
> With power on thine own act on the world."

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ASTERISMS IN IRANIAN LITERATURE.

By Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria M.A.

1. (*a*) 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀[1] — Yt. 2, 3;
𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 — Ib., 8;
𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 — Y. XLII, 2.

The Pahlavi version of Y. XLII, 2 has 𐭯𐭦𐭮𐭠𐭩𐭭𐭲 ו 𐭦𐭠𐭩𐭭𐭲[2], 'the increase of corns'. The modern translators seem to have followed the Pahlavi commentators.[3] But 'Açpini' and 'Yaoni' seem to be Avestaic names of the first two lunar mansions which are अश्विनि and भरणि in the Vedas. 'Asvini' and 'Açpini' can be easily identified, the Sans. 'asva' being the Avesta 'açpa'. The Pahlavi name of the first asterism is, as we learn from the Bundahishn and the Dînkard, 𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭲[4], 𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭩[5], and 𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭠[6]. Transcribed into Pahlavi characters 'Açpini' becomes 𐭯𐭦𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭲. Supposing the first syllable 𐭯𐭦 to have dropped out in Pahlavi, 𐭮𐭩- remains, the last 𐭠 of which may possibly have been written 𐭢 and confounded with 𐭡

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[1] Thus Wd; but Gld. 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀.

[2] Thus J_2; Sp. 𐭯𐭦𐭮𐭠𐭩𐭭𐭲 ו 𐭦𐭠𐭩𐭭𐭲.

[3] See Prof. Darmesteter's *Le Zend Avesta* Vol. I., p. 275, Vol. II, p. 347; Dr. L. H. Mills' translation, S. B. E. Vol. xxxi, p. 291; Ervad Kâvasji's Translations, Khordeh Avesta p. 183 and Yaçna Ch. 42, 2, p. 122. Ervad Framji Rabadi translates: 'દાણાના મલાને વધીના કરનારને મલો અનાજની વધીનો કરનારને આરાધું.' Neryôsang's Sans. version is उपचितिंच धान्यानाम्.

[4] Bd. K_{20}, Ir. No. 1, p. 25.

[5] In Ir. Bd. No. 1, p. 30; 𐭠𐭮𐭩𐭭𐭩 in Ir. Bd. No. 2.

[6] In Dk. III, ccccxix.

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so as to read it 'Padivar'. The variant 𐬐𐬀𐬛𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬉 of the Dînkard suggests another conjecture. If we read it 'Farsîpar,' the first syllable 'Fars-' would be a translation of the Avesta 'açpa,' *i.e.*, a horse, and the suffix '-îpar', ('war') may serve the place of the Avesta '-ini'.

The evidence which goes against the first derivation is the Pahlavi transcription 𐬐𐬀𐬛𐬉𐬯𐬀𐬉, which suggests that the 'd' of 'padêvar' is the softened form of 't', and not a misreading of the Pahlavi 𐬉, 'î'; besides the presence of the long vowel 'ê' in 'padêvar' cannot be explained. It may possibly be a Pahlavi retranscription of a later copyist who put the hard Pahlavi 't' for the Pâzand 'd'.

(*b*) Says Madhuchchhanda Visvâmitra, a Vedic poet :—

अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो द्रवत्पाणी शुभस्पती ।
पुरुभुजा चनस्यतम् ॥ (I. 3, 1).[1]

"O Aswins, riding on quick horses, *lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food*, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction."

Just as the Vedic poet calls the Aswins शुभस्पती, 'lords of prosperity', and पुरुभुजा, 'bestowers of plenty of food', the Pahlavi commentators' version for 𐬱𐬎𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬎𐬱𐬎 is 𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬉 𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬱𐬎𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬉, which gives the same meaning as शुभस्पती पुरुभुजा; it seems therefore possible that the Pahlavi commentators recognized 'Açpini' and 'Yaoni' to be the first two asterisms and that the later Pahlavi writers corrupted the text through ignorance. If we make an attempt to restore the original text it must have at one time been as follows :—

𐬀𐬎𐬉 ; (𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬉 𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬉𐬀𐬉) 𐬱𐬎𐬱𐬎𐬱𐬎 : Açpînî (afzûnîxich-i jôrtâyân) va Yônî.

[1] See Vedarthayatna, Vol. I, p. 13.

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The later Pahlavi interpreters seem to have confounded 'Açpini' with 'açpen', taking the latter to mean 'beneficent' or 'increaser', and اوزن with اوزن, taking it to mean corn, not understanding the force of the commentary 'afzûnikach-î jôrtâyân' added to 'Açpinibya' by the former commentators.

The 'Muhûrta Chintâmani' describes the appearances of the lunar asterisms and says of Asvini :—

अश्विन्यास्तुरगास्यमश्वमुखसदृशंरूपम् ॥

The constellation 'Asvini' is according to some composed of three, and according to others of two stars; thus the dual 'Açpinibya' can be explained by the supposition that the Avesta people included two stars in it.

(*c*) The corresponding Sogdian name of this asterism is بشيش[1], which it is difficult to trace from the Av. 'Açpini'. However, the Av. 'Açpini' written in Persian characters would be اسپيني, and it would not be a far-fetched conjecture to say that بشيش is a corruption of اسپيني[2], the first ا being dropped[3], the distinguishing dots being misplaced and the last ني being corrupted in to ش.

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[1] According to Sachau's Albîrûnî, p. 228.

[2] To illustrate the curious manner in which words become corrupt after transcription into Persian I give the corrupt names of the Khorasmian season festivals with their corresponding correct readings:— 1) بنخجاچي ريد, Bankhajâchî Rêd, which ought to have been پتهحاحي ريد, Patahhâhî Rêd. 2) ميث سخن ريد, Mîthsakhan Rêd, which ought to have been ميث شحن ريد, Mithshahan Red. 3) مذيان ريد Mazyân Red, which is properly speaking a derivative of Av. 'Maidhyâiryahê rathwô' and correct in spelling. 4) ميث زرمي ريد Mithzarmî Red, from the Av. 'Maidhyô zaremayĉhê rathwô.' 5) the name is missing. 6) ارثمين ريد Arathmîn Red, a corruption of 'Ayâthrîmahê rathwô.'

[3] Mark the ديديواسهاردس and ديئواسهرس of K_{18}; see Gld. Yt. 2, 3 n.; Ib., 8 n.

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The corresponding Khorasmian name is ریونه[1], but it seems to be wrongly placed. It is the same as the Sans. रेवति, the 28th asterism. Possibly the name of the first asterism is missing in the list.

The Arab Astronomers call it شرطین, 'the two body-guards,' and it is possible that 'the horsemen' and 'the body-guards' are words used to convey the same idea: 'the forerunners or beginners of the new year'.

2. 'Yaoni', which is taken to mean 'corn' in the Pahlavi version adopted by the modern translators, is a synonym of the Sans. 'Bharani', *i. e*, the womb. The 'Muhûrta Chintâmani' says: भरण्या योनिर्भगस्तद्रूपम्.

The corresponding Arabic asterism is بطین, which is a diminutive of بطن, and has the same meaning, *viz.*, the womb, referring to three small stars at the end of the womb of Aries forming an isosceles triangle.[2] The Pahlavi name of this asterism is [3] [4] But it seems that is a mistaken form of (the last being written by mistake for) which is the same as the Persian پروین, and derived from the Avesta a girdle. The same mistake has crept in in modern Persian also where we find both the forms پروین and پرویز in use. Pêsh-Parvîz, rightly speaking Pêsh-Parvîn, seems to be named from Parvîn, and means '*the asterism* preceding Parvîn.'

According to Albîrûnî the corresponding Sogdian asterism is برو, very nearly similar to the Persian پروه, which it is difficult to explain, unless we suppose that برو is a remnant of پیش پروین.

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[1] Albîrûnî, p. 228.

[2] Albîrûnî p. 343.

[3] Bd. K$_{20}$ and Ir. p. 30.

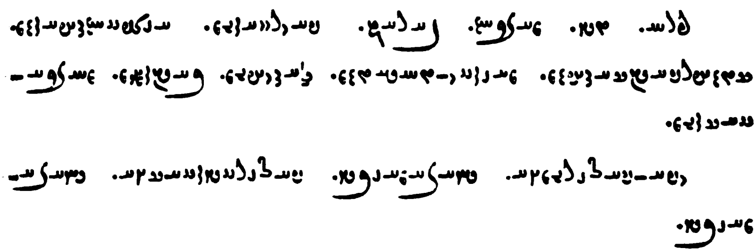
[4] Bd. Ir. p. 30.

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The Khorasmian asterism is فرنخنده. If we transcribe it into Pahlavi characters, it becomes [illegible] which may be read 'parvânî'. If فرنخنده be really a corruption of پروانی then the first part پيش seems to be omitted here also.

The Upa-Paoiri of Yt. 8, 12 seems to correspond to the Pêsh-Parvîz of the Bundahishn. The theory may be ventured that the Vernal Equinox fell in the asterism Açpini when the Yaçna Haptanghâiti was composed, and in the second asterism Upa-Paoiri, otherwise called Yaoni, when the Tîr Yasht was composed.

3. The third asterism according to the Bundahishn is [illegible] which, as already mentioned, seems to be corrupted from [illegible]. The Pleiades, according to Greek mythology, are the daughters of Atlas and Plēĭŏnē. Plēĭŏnē is a daughter of Oceanus. Oceanus is the god of the water, which is believed to surround the whole earth. The earth according to the ancient Greek mythology is encompassed by the river Oceanus perpetually flowing round it, and in this river the Sun and the stars are supposed to rise and set; and on its banks are the abodes of the dead.[1] What Oceanus is in the Old Greek myths, Vouru-kasha seems to be in the Avesta literature, and thus Plēĭŏnē, with its daughters the Pleiades, might be compared with Pahl. Parvîn,—Paurvanî of Y. IX, 26—, and the 'Paoiryênya' of Yt. 8, 12 :—



[1] Smith's Classical Dictionary.

In the first passage, it will be seen, that the Mazda-worshipping religion is compared to a star-bespangled belt which God has made for Haoma. Intelligent scholars have made an attempt to compare this 'Paurvani' with Orion's belt. But it seems to correspond more with Plēiŏnē the daughter of Oceanus, and together with the 'Paoiryenya' of Yt. 8, 12, it refers to the cluster of six stars, the Hyades, i. e., the *rainy ones*, afterwards named the Pleiades.[1] The Arab and the Greek Astronomers believed that the constellation when rising simultaneously with the Sun produced rainy weather. The Hipparcho-Ptolemy star-list includes them in the constellation Taurus, whereas the Arabs locate them in the constellation Aries. The corresponding Sogdian and Khorasmian name of the Asterism is پروی.

4. The fourth asterism 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬱 (Ir. Bd.), 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬱 (K_{20}) seems to be a corrupt form of 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬱, or 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬱𐬎 'following after'; the Arabs call this asterism 'Aldabarân', because it follows after the Pleiades. The Sogdian and Khorasmian name بابرو, 'with the Parv' assists this conjecture. As the asterism preceding 'Parvîn' is 'Pêsh-Parvîn,' it is possible that the one following might have been named '*Pas*-Parvîn.'

5. The fifth asterism, according to the Bundahishn is 𐬞𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱, [2] 𐬞𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱, [3] the Pâzand transcription of 𐬞𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱, which I read '*azêsar*,' taking it to mean the 'ram's

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[1] See Prof. Darmesteter's *Le Zend Avesta* Vol. II., p. 418. n. 36.

[2] Ir. Bd.

[3] In K_{20}; there is reason to believe that 𐬎 here is only a misscription of 𐬌. In an old Pâz.-Sans. MS. of MKh. named TD_4, which recently came in my father's possession and seems to be a sister MS. of L. the two letters 𐬌 and 𐬎 are written so nearly alike, that there would be no wonder if copyists were at a loss to distinguish them. For instances of 𐬎 and 𐬌 being interchanged see the variants given by Dr. West in his Pâz. Glos. of MKh.

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head'; cf. سرش with the Sans. अज: (= मृग:). The corresponding Sanskrit asterism is termed मृगशीर्ष: and the 'Muhûrta-chintâmani' describes it as having the face of a deer.— मृगस्य एणास्यं हरिणमुखसदृशं (रूपम्).

The Indian astronomers distinguish by this name a collection of three stars, which the Arabs call هقعه, comparing the asterism to a circle of hair on a horse's breast. The Hipparcho-Ptolemy star-list locates the asterism of these three stars in the head of Orion.[1]

6. (*a*) The sixth asterism according to the Ir. Bd. is اسپرم, ورا (K$_{20}$ زاوه). As seems from the meaning of the corresponding Sanskrit, Persian and Sogdian names of the asterism the Pahlavi ورا may be the name of a precious stone.

The corresponding Sogdian asterism مرازنه seems to be a corruption of Pers. مرجان 'coral.' Mobad Manekji Rustamji Unwala has in his possession an old MS. Persian Dictionary named بحر الفضایل في صنا یع الا فا صل, written in 764 A. Y.; it contains the Persian names of the asterisms rarely to be met with elsewhere. Most of the names seem to be corrupt scriptions of the Pahlavi asterisms. The sixth asterism is there named فرخ, 'auspicious', which might be a corruption of مرجان.

The corresponding Sanskrit constellation is आर्द्रा; its aspect according to the Muhûrta-Chintâmani is that of a jewel: आर्द्राया मणिसदृशं (रूपम्).

(*b*) Again बाहु is another Sanskrit name of the asterism, which, it is possible, was literally transcribed into Pahlavi as ورا, 'bâhu,' and corrupted by later writers into اسپرم. See Pers. بازو = باهو, in Farhang-i Jehângîrî, Burhân and Steingass. There seems no reason to doubt the return of the

[1] As to the derivation of the word Orion from the Sans. हरिण: see B. G. Tilak's 'Orion.'

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Sanskrit बाहु into Pahlavi, as we actually meet with بـاهو, in New Persian.

(*c*) In Dastûr Hôshangji's Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. Ch. I, l. 4, we have a Huzwârish word 𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭭, 'nâdân', with its Pahlavi synonym 𐭩𐭠𐭲, 'bayân'. The Hûzwârish word as well as its Pahlavi equivalent both seem to be obscure. Dr. Haug thinks that 𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭭 is the Assyrian 'nâdu', 'nahadu', *augustus*, a frequent epithet of kings. But in a copy of the same glossary appended to my father's MS of Ir. Bd. No. 1, I find 𐭩𐭠𐭲𐭭, instead of 𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭭, with the Pâzand transcription ·واسوهر. Another older Irânian MS. in my father's library, whose colophon is missing, has also 𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭭, with the Pâzand transcription ·واسوهر.

As this chapter treats of "Mînô a-vînâk a-giriftâr": spiritual, invisible *and* intangible *substances*, I am tempted to think that the word might possibly refer to some heavenly configuration of stars; moreover 𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭭 may not be of Semitic origin, but like many other Arian words of corrupt orthography a cursive form of 𐭩𐭠𐭲, or that of a synonym of 𐭩𐭠𐭲, which may be the same as ·بيذ of Bd., the sixth asterism. However, I will not leave the word as finally settled, as Irânian scribes have actually read the word 'biyân'. The late Dastûr Jamshedji Barjorji of Surat took it to mean بهشت هواي, 'the air of paradise'. Instead of 𐭭𐭠𐭲𐭭 he gives a curious word 𐭩𐭠𐭲𐭩.

7. The seventh asterism according to the Ir. Bd. is 𐭤𐭮𐭪𐭤 (K$_{20}$ 𐭤𐭮𐭪𐭤, Dk. III, 𐭮𐭪𐭤). No doubt it is the same as the Sogdian رشنونه, which would be in Pahlavi writing 𐭮𐭭𐭪, of which the above mixed scriptions are corrupt forms. As the corresponding Sanskrit Asterism पुनर्वसु might mean 'restoring wealth,' ·بسوهر would be a likely derivation of the Pahlavi asterism.

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8. The eighth asterism according to the Ir. Bd. is ,
(K₂₀). The corresponding Sanskrit asterism is पुष्य or तिष्य; the latter appellation used in the Taittiriya Brâhmana is derived from the name of a mythical being, who like Krisânu is a heavenly archer. As regards its aspect the Muhûrta Chintâmani says: पुष्यस्य पृषत्को बाणस्तत्सदृशं (रूपम्). From this it seems that the Pahlavi asterism is a corruption of ; it is possible that the Khorasmian asterism corresponds to the Persian .

9. The ninth asterism according to the Ir. Bd. is ,
(K₂₀). The corresponding Sanskrit constellation is आश्लेषा, which according to the Muhûrta Chintâmani is of the form of a wheel. It is possible that and are corrupt forms of 'chakhr' wheel. Mark the variant , which can be read 'akarak'. The Khorasmian supports this conjecture.

10. The tenth asterism (Ir. Bd.), (K₂₀) is in the Sogdian and in the Khorasmian asterisms corresponding to the Sanskrit मघा. The Pahlavi asterism seems to be 'vâz', or 'vâh,' chariot, palanquin. According to the Muhûrta Chintâmani: मघाया भवनं गृहसदृशं (रूपम्).

11. The eleventh and the twelvth asterisms and seem to be imperfect names of the Sanskrit 'purvâ fâlguni' and 'uttarâ fâlguni'; 'maîân' and 'avdem' are adjectival parts of the names just like 'purvâ' and 'uttarâ', but the principal name of the constellation-figure seems to be missing.

9th August, 1900.

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A NEW MEDAL OF KING BEHRÂM GOUR.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A.

The subjoined Medal belongs to Mr. J. H. Robinson of Bombay. It is a bronze coin weighing 4 tolas and 42 grains. According to the owner it was found in Persia.



On the obverse we find the bust of a king, turned to the right. The head bears a crown surmounted with a globe. The hair of the head falls on the neck behind in curls. It carries in the neck a string of jewels and a star-like jewel a little above the string and just below the beard. Just behind the bust there is a crescent with a globe or a little star on its convex part. In the front of the bust to the right, there is a dragon with its mouth opened to the right. Below the bust there is an animal. The position of its four feet and its tail shows that it is running away in full speed.



On the reverse we find the figure of a young man, rather a boy with his face turned to the left. He wears a crown or a crown-like cap with three points. The crown or the cap either carries a string or strap of jewels or is embroidered with jewels. The hair appear from under the crown or cap tied in a bundle. He carries a dagger-like instrument suspended from a belt (not visible) on his waist. He carries, in his left hand, a club-like weapon,

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which rests on his left shoulder. A strap or a strap-like string is hanging in the front from his neck which supports something, perhaps a bow (not visible) on the back. By the side of the dagger-like instrument hangs a bag which is probably a quiver of arrows, which are not visible being supported on the back. In the front of the young man or boy are several animals all turned to the left and arranged in three rows one above the other. In the top-most row there is an animal (a female) with a young one fallen on its two knees and sucking her breast. In the second row there are two animals one going after the other. In the third row there are three animals. The position of the feet and the tails of the animals shows that they are not standing, but are in a state of motion, though not running fast. There is something like a stone nearly three-fourths round lying in the front of the young man and below the first row of the animals. It is difficult to say what it is.

The medal bears no inscription. So we have to depend upon the features &c. of the figure and upon its accompaniments to determine what the medal is and to whom it belongs.

First of all the features of the face, the head-dress, the curl of the hair, the conventional globe, all these lead us to determine that it is a Persian medal of one of the Sassanian kings. Then the position of the crescent with the globe and the star below the beard leads us to say that it is a medal of Behrâm Gour or Behrâm V. A comparison with medal No. 51 of Plate VIII, 6 of Longpériér's *Essai sur les Medailles des Rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide* (p. 58) helps us to determine the fact. In our medal, too, the crescent and the globe are behind the head of the figure, but there is this difference that while in the medal described by Longpériér the globe is in the concave part of the crescent, in ours it is in the convex part. In Longpériér's medal, besides the conventional globe over the head, there is another moon-like globe in

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the front of one of the three points of the crown. We do not find that in the obverse of our medal, but instead of that we find a globe in the reverse. The form of the crown of the figure on Longpériér's medal is similar to that on the head of the young man on the reverse of our medal. Both have crowns with three points.

Now let us see if the animals on the obverse and reverse point to any episodes in the career of Behrâm Gour. First let us take the figure of the dragon. There are two adventures, in which, according to Firdusi, Behrâm Gour's name is connected with a dragon. The first is described as follows: (Mohl V., p. 609.)

Once upon a time, Behrâm Gour went a-hunting with his courtiers, on the frontiers of Turan. Onagers, wild rams, and antelopes were the animals that they hunted. They passed two days in hunting. On the third day, the king came across a dragon that was brave like a lion. It had hair all over its body and over its head. It had two breasts over its body like a woman. The king aimed at it two arrows one of which struck its breast and the other its head. The dragon was killed on the spot and blood and poison began to flow from its body. The king got down from the horse and cut open the breast of the dragon with his dagger. He found out that it had swallowed a young man. He wept over the fate of the young man, and the poison of the snake dimmed his eyes. He wandered thus in a state of confusion, seeking for water and a place for rest. He found his way to an inhabited place, and came to a house, where he saw a woman carrying a pitcher of water over her shoulders. He asked for hospitality and the woman gracefully accorded it.

The seat of king Behrâm Gour's second adventure with a dragon was India. His Vazir once excited his ambition to conquer India, then ruled over by a king called Shangel. Behrâm thereupon asked a friendly but threatening letter to be written to the Indian king, asking him either to send tribute to Persia or to be prepared for war. He then resolved upon

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carrying the letter personally and went to India with a few confidential officers under the pretence of going a-hunting. He was received by the Indian king with all honours due to a messenger of the king of Persia. On hearing the message he indignantly refused to pay any tribute to Persia. Behrâm then had a friendly fight in the presence of the king with one of his best warriors.

The superior strength in the fight and the skill in the art of using the bow, which Behrâm showed, made the king suspect that the messenger (Behrâm) was not an ordinary courtier of the court of Persia but a man of royal blood. He asked his minister to persuade Behrâm to postpone his departure for some time and stay a little longer at Kanoj, where, he said, the fruit trees gave two crops every year. The Vazir tried to win Behrâm over to the side of the Indian king and persuaded him to make Kanoj his permanent residence. Behrâm refused and the king tried to do away with this powerful Persian messenger by asking him to kill a ferocious wolf and a dragon in the vicinity of his city.*

The fight of Behrâm Gour with the above-mentioned dragon in India is thus described by Firdusi: "The Indian king in a private conference with his confidential courtiers said, 'If this messenger would remain with me in my court he would be a pillar of strength to me, but if he were to return to Persia, as he insists upon doing, he with his valiant master Behrâm would be a source of terror to me and my country. So I have thought of a new device to do away with him. I will send him to fight with the dragon which causes such terror in our neighbourhood, and I am sure he will be killed in the fight." He then sent for the Persian messenger (Behrâm Gour) and requested him to free Hindustan from the terror of that dragon, which at times lived in water and at times on land and at times killed brave

* Vide my paper on "The Bas-Relief of Behrâm Gour at Nakshi-Rustam before the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society No. LI vol. XIX.

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elephants. He told him that if he killed that dragon, he would agree to pay tribute to Persia and allow him to return to his native country. The messenger (Behrâm Gour) accepted the request, went to the abode of the dragon and killed it."

Now the question is, which of these two adventures of king Behrâm with the dragons is depicted on the medal. The animal below the effigy of the king leads us to say that it is the second adventure.

According to Firdusi, the Indian king, before sending Behrâm Gour to fight with the dragon, sent him to fight with a ferocious wolf which caused terror in his neighbourhood. It was an extraordinary wolf which was more than a match even for lions. Behrâm went to the forest where the wolf had its abode, fought with it courageously, and killed it with his bow and arrow. Thus the animal on the medal seems to be the wolf killed by Behrâm a short time before he killed the dragon in India. (Mohl VI., pp. 36-44.)

Now, coming to the device on the reverse side of the medal, I think that the scene depicted there, is one of the chase-scenes of King Behrâm Gour. We know that Behrâm V. was called Gour on account of his extraordinary fondness for chasing onagers. Out of the several hunt-stories attributed to him by Firdusi the following seems to point to the scenes depicted on our medal. (Mohl. V., pp. 664-668.)

One day the king went a-hunting with his courtiers and showed them his dexterity in arrow-shooting in various ways. He came across a she-onager. In front of her ran her young one all fatigued. Behrâm struck her with his sword and cut her into two pieces. All his officers admired his dexterous blow and praised him.

It seems that the animal with a young one at her breast as depicted in the scene on the reverse of the medal is the she-onager in the chase-scene above referred to. As the feat above referred

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to was performed with a sword, we see the king on the medal with a sword-like instrument in his hand.

One may be tempted to say that this scene on the reverse of the medal is like that of a shepherd and his flock. It looks like it at first view, the animals looking like cows. But then it is clear that the young man on the right is not a shepherd-boy. He wears a crown on his head, which clearly shows that he is a prince. Again he carries a war-like instrument in his hand and a dagger is hanging at his side. Again there is something suspended from his neck. This looks like a piece of string supporting his quiver which appears to be hanging by the side of his dagger. All these are not the requisites of a shepherd. They clearly show that the young man is a prince and warrior.

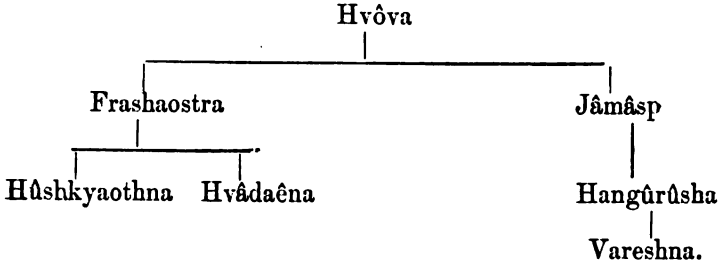
The above chase-scene, as described by Firdusi, is attributed to the king in his grown up age when he had established himself upon the throne. But the scene on the medal represents the youth as a boy-prince. It may be that it is one of the chase-scenes of the time when Behrâm Gour lived in Arabia under the tutelage of Moudhir, the king of Arabia. Several chase-scenes of Arabia are referred to by Firdusi. It is possible that Firdusi may have transferred some of them to a later period in the life time of the king.

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TRANSLATION OF A PASSAGE IN THE JÂMÂSPI OR JÂMÂSP-NÂMEH RELATING TO PLAGUE AND FAMINE.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A.

Jâmâsp was a brother of Frashaostra and belonged to the distinguished family of Hvôva or Hvôgva,[1] which claimed Hvôvi the queen of king Vishtâsp (Gushtâsp) as one of its members. The Farvardin Yasht helps us to prepare the following genealogical table of the family.



Jâmâsp was a very wise minister of Vishtâsp. So he is often spoken of as Dê-Jâmâsp, i. e., the wise Jâmâsp. As he was one of the first disciples of Zoroaster, in the tweltfth chapter of the Yaçna which contains what can be appropriately called "The Articles of Zoroastrian Faith", the worshipper or the new initiate professes to belong to that creed which was held by Jâmâsp. In the Gâthâs he is alluded to as one of the promoters of religion. In the Âbân Yasht he prays for success against the Daêvayaçnâns. In one of his benedictions upon king Vishtâsp, Zoroaster wishes that the king may have a son like Jâmâsp. A similar benediction is repeated in the Vishtâsp Yasht. In the Dâdastân-i Dini, he is spoken of as Dastûr (دستور) Jâmâsp. According to the Dinkard,[2] he was

[1] Y. XLVI-17; LI-18.

[2] Vol. I-1.

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one of the first promoters of the Zoroastrian religion. He was one of the four principal men appointed by king Vishtâsp to work for the spread of the new religion.

All these references point to the fact that he was one of the first disciples of Zoroaster and that he was held in high repute as a Dastûr and a wise man. Later books speak of him as a Hakim (Philosopher), a physician and a foreteller of events. According to the Persian Zarthosht-nâmeh of Zarthosht Behrâm, Zoroaster, having performed the Darun ceremony over wine, flower, milk and pomegranate, gave the consecrated flower to Jâmâsp. Jâmâsp smelt the flower and was immediately endowed with the faculty of foreseeing events upto the time of the Resurrection. According to the Desâtîr, God sends a message to King Vishtâsp through Zoroaster, wherein He says, that He had conferred upon him (Vishtâsp) several blessings. One of the blessings was the presence in his court of Jâmâsp who knew all the mysteries of the Heavens[1]. According to the Dabistan, it was not the smelling of a flower but the eating of a fruit (safarjal) that endowed Jâmâsp with the faculty of foretelling. Firdousi also refers to him as a foreteller of events. In the Yâdgâr-i Zarîrân, he plays a prominent part as a foreteller. In the Afrîns he is spoken of as a 'Baêtâsha-ziech', i. e., an astrologer.

All these references point to the fact that Jâmâsp was believed to possess the power of foretelling. The Jâmâspi or Jâmâsp-nâmeh is said to be a work containing some of his prophecies. It was originally written in Pahlavi. A Pâzand rendering of it is also extant. It was subsequently translated into Persian. In the Persian Jâmâsp-nâmeh, besides the translation we find a good deal of interpolations. There are Gujarati renderings of the Jâmâsp-nâmeh, but they have gone beyond the mark. All kinds of additions and interpolations are common.

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[1] دگر چون جاماسپ دستوري کہ راز سپهران همه میداند

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Upto a few years the Jâmâspi was held in great estimation by the orthodox Pârsîs and especially by the female members of the community. It was now and then consulted for foretelling some events. Even the above said old Gujarati renderings of the book were guarded as rich articles of possession in treasury boxes.

During the last three years when plague and famine are prevalent in India, I have heard at times the statement that "Jâmâspi has predicted all that." A friend once told me that he had heard ladies saying that the Jâmâspi predicted, that when India would have eight Âtash Behrâms (Great Fire-Temples), it would be cursed with plague and famine, and that the eighth Âtash Behrâm being recently built in Bombay the prophecy had turned out to be true. Curiosity about its statements about plague and famine, made me turn to the study of that book in the original Pahlavi. The particular so-called prophecy is not to be found there. I propose shortly publishing the text of the whole of Jâmâsp-nâmeh with its Pâzand rendering and translations into English and Gujarati, but I give here as my humble contribution to this Memorial Volume my English translation of that passage of the Jâmâsp-nâmeh which treats of famine and plague.

"King Vishtâsp asked: 'How many times will great plagues happen? how many times famines? how many times black snow? how many times red hail-stones? how many times great wars?'

"Jâmâsp Baitâsh replied to him: 'Great plagues will occur three times; one in the wicked reign of Dahâk, one in that of Frâsyâv of Tûr[1] and one will occur in the last millenium[2] of Zoroaster. Famines will occur three times; one in the wicked reign of Frâsyâv of Tûr, and one in the reign of the Ashkânians,

1 These and some of the following are no prophecies. They are statements of past events.

2 The time of the future apostle Hoshêdar.

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and one in the reign of Pîrôz of Yazdagird and one will occur in the last millenium of Zoroaster. Heavy rains of black water will fall three times. One in the reign of Minocheher, one in the reign of Pîrôz of Yazdagird and one in the last millenium of Zoroaster. White snow and red hail-stones will fall three times; one in the reign of Minocheher, and one in the reign of Kaêkâus and one in the millenium of Hûshedar. There will be three great wars; one, that of king Kaus with the demons fought high (in the air), one, that of yourself, with the magician of monsters, whom they call Arjâsp for religion; one will take place in the last millenium of Zoroaster, when there will assemble the Turks, the Arabs, and the Romans who will fight for the king.'"

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TWO PERSIAN PASSAGES ABOUT THE KABISEH (INTERCALATION).

By Ervad Manekji Rustamji Unwala.

The following passage about 'the Kabiseh' occurs in a manuscript written by Dastûr Rustam Gustâsp Ardashîr in 1087 A. Y. The MS. contains some fragments of the Khordeh Avesta (Kadîmî), Nîrangs, Setâyesh-i Ahuramazda va Amshâspandân, some Âfringâns, Kitâb-i Dâdâr bin Dâdokht, Kitâb-i Mînô Kherad, the description of Jashans, a short account of the history of the kings of Persia and other miscellaneous matters. The passage occurs at pp. 620-621 of the MS and is as follows:—

چون فریدون در گذشت وآن پادشاهان دیگر بودند بعد
از آن پادشاهي بگشتاسپ شاه رسید × چون از پادشاهي
گشتاسپ سي سال بگذشت زراتشت پیغمبر پدید آمد و
گشتاسپ دین ازو پذیرفت از روزگار آفریدون تا این
روزگار گشتاسپ شاه نهصد و چهل سال گذشته بود و آفتاب
خویشرا بعقرب آورد و گشتاسپ به فرمود تا کبیسه کردند
و فروردین آنروز آفتاب بسرطان گرفت و درینوقت
بفرمود که هرصد و بیست سال کبیسه کنند تا سالها بجاي
خویش بماند و مردم تا وفات خویش سرما و گرما
بدانند تا بروزگار اسکندر بماند و مردمان بدان آئین
همیرفتند تا بروزگار اردشیر بابکان که جشن کبیسه افتاد
او جشن کبیسه نکرد برهمان آئین برفتند تا بروزگار
نوشیروان عادل رسید و ایران مداین تمام گشت و
توروز کردند و رسم جشن بجا مي آوردند و چنانکه
آئین ایشان بود ×

" Several other kings reigned (in Persia) after the death of King Faridun. After them the sovereignty of Persia devolved upon King Gustâsp. When thirty years of the reign of King Gustâsp had passed, the prophet Zarathust

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appeared. King Gustâsp accepted his religion from him. Nine hundred and forty years had elapsed since the time of Faridun to the time of the reign of King Gustâsp. And the Sun was at that time in the Zodiacal constellation of 'Scorpio.' King Gustâsp gave an order to perform the 'Kabiseh'; and at that time in the month Farvardin he put the Sun in the constellation of 'Cancer'. And at this time he ordered to perform the 'Kabiseh' every one hundred and twenty years, so that years may remain at their own places, and the people may know the summer and the winter till their death. This went on till the time of Sikandar, and men followed that custom till the reign of Ardeshir Bâbakân. When in his reign the time for the 'Kabiseh' fête arrived, he did not perform the 'Kabiseh' fête. Men followed this custom till the reign of King Noshirwân, (*i. e.*, did not perform the 'Kabiseh' during this interval). And the people from all the cities of Persia gathered together and performed the Navroz ceremony (*i. e.*, the New Year's day ceremony), and celebrated the (Kabiseh) fête as was their former usage."

The following passage is taken from the dictionary called Bahar-ul-Fazâyel, written in 764 A. Y., corresponding to 1452 Samvat, and 797 Hijri. It occurs on pp. 100-101 where the author at the end of his dictionary gives an account of the months and years of the Pârsîs, Hindus, Mahomedans, Romans &c. The passage refers to the Pârsî method of calculating months and years.

فصل سیوم در ماههاي فارس تاریخ جلوس یزدجرد
است که یزدکرد همگویند و او آخرین ملوک عجم بود
که بعد ازان در وقت عمر خطاب رضي الله عنه فتح شد
و درین وقت از تاریخ یزدجرد مذکور هفتصد و ششت
و چهار سال است و سال ایشان شمشي است سیصد و
ششت و پنج روز و ربع روز بعد چهار سال یکروز زیاده
کنند آن سال سیصدو ششت شش روزه شود که آن سال
کبیسه باشد و ماه هاي فارس دوازده است و هر ماهي

ا زیشان مي کان روز است مگر ابان که ان مي پنج روز ست و ماه هاي فارسیان مذکور شده ایست فروردین اردي بهشت خرداد تیر مرداد شهریور مهر آبان اذر دي بهمن اسفندیار ×

"Chapter III. About the months of the Pârsîs. Their era begins from the date of the enthronement of King Yazdajard, who is also called Yazdagard. He was the last of the kings of Persia.

"After that in the time of Umar Khatâb, may God reward him, victory ensued (*i. e.*, Umar Khatâb became victorious). At this time* 764 years have elapsed since the time, of the above-mentioned King Yazdajard. They reckon their year according to the movements of the Sun. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty five days and a quarter. After four years they add one day to their year, and that year will contain three hundred and sixty six days. And that year will be the year of the 'Kabiseh.' The months of the Pârsîs are twelve in number and each month contains thirty days, except the month Âbân which is of thirty-five days.

"And the months of the Pârsîs are the following;—Farvardin, Ardibehest, Khurdâd, Tir, Amardâd, Shahrivar, Meher, Âbân, Âdar, Daye, Bahaman, and Asfandârmad."

In the Persian Dictionary called شمش اللغات (Shamsh-ul-logât) the word کپه (kape) seems to signify the same meaning as کبیسه (kabiseh).

کپه—آن سالي که روزي درو افزایند و آن بعد از چهار سال است: "That year in which they add one day and that comes after every four years." (Shamsh-ul-logât. Vol. II. p. 152).

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* By "this time" here is meant the time of the date of the book. The author gives here the date of the compilation of the book. It is 764 A. Y.

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It seems that the author, on account of the similarity in the figures in كپه and كبيسه has put the word كپه (kape) instead of كبيسه (kabiseh). كپه (kape) can be read also as كبيه (kabihe) and كبيسه (kabiseh). The real word ought to be كبيسه (kabiseh).

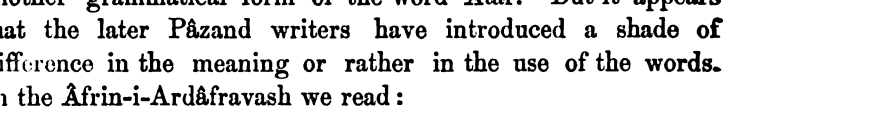
16th October 1900.

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ÂDAR AND ÂTASH IN THE PÂZAND WRITINGS.

By Ervad Kharshedji Minocherji Kateli.
Professor of Persian, Wilson College.

We know that the word Âdar, used in Pâzand writings is merely another form of the Avesta word Âtar. We also know that as far as the Avesta is concerned, and as far as the meanings of the two words are concerned, the words Âtar (Âdar) and Âtash are the same, the latter word being another grammatical form of the word Âtar. But it appears that the later Pâzand writers have introduced a shade of difference in the meaning or rather in the use of the words. In the Âfrin-i-Ardâfravash we read:



We find that in this passage the word Âdar is used with the first set of three fires and the word Âtash with the second set of other six fires. The first three fires *viz.*, Goshasp, Khardâd or Khordâd and Burzin Meher are the names of three great Fire-temples of ancient Irân. The next six fires, *viz.*, Berezi-savangh, Vohu-Frayâna, Urvâzishta, Vâzishta and Spênishta—are the names, not of Fire temples, but of the different kinds of fire or manifestations of heat, as animal heat, vegetable heat, electrical heat &c. So we find that the writers of the Pâzand Âfrins, have restricted the use of the word Âdar or Âtar to the consecrated fires that have found a home in Fire-temples. The other fires or forces which are in one way or another, manifestations of heat, are known as Âtash.

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Again the word Âtash is not restricted to manifestations of heat. It is also used for some of the fires that are established in proper Fire-temples : ·{ددسدد·ا ·وسوسس· ·س· ·ؤ· ·ددسدد}·. But in such a case even, another shade of difference is always preserved. For example in the Pâzand prayer attached to the Avesta Âtash Nyâish both Âdarân and Âtashân are referred to as being established in Fire-temples ·ا·سواسدؤ· ·سوسدلهـ· ·ددسدد} ·{ددسدد·ا ·وسوسس· ·س· ·ؤ· ·سهسسهـ}· ·. Here by Âdarân are meant the great Fire-temples known as Âtash-Behrâms and Âtash Âdarâns now-a-days, and by Âtashân are meant temples of the third grade known as Dâd-gâhs. The Fires of the great ancient Fire-temples are always spoken of in the Âfrîns and in the Âtash-Nyâish as Âdar. For example in the Âtash Nyaish the great abovementioned consecrated Fires of ancient Irân, *viz.*, Goshasp, Khordâd, and Burzin Meher are spoken of as Âdar.

Thus it appears from examining several passages of the different Âfrîns and the last part of Âtash Nyâish that the word Âdar, and not Âtash, is always used for the great consecrated fires of the first degree established in great Fire-temples and that the word Âtash is used both (*a*) for the lesser consecrated fires of the second degree and (*b*) for other ordinary fires and manifestations of heat. From these facts it seems to me that the word Âtash-Behrâm applied in India to the great consecrated fires of the first degree is not a proper word. It ought to be Âdar-Behrâm instead of Âtash-Behrâm.

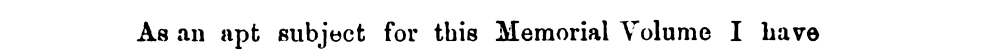
16th October 1900.

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THE PERSIAN YEAR.

By Ervad Naushirwan Barjoji Desai.

As an apt subject for this Memorial Volume I have selected two passages from Dk. VI, as yet unpublished, the one affirming the existence of intercalation in the Persian Year and the other indicating the month with which the New Year began among the Persians during the age of the Dînkard.



"This, too, they held in this manner: intercalation is made for this reason *that* Aharman retards what is forward."

This passage is in the same vein as Bd. V, 7, where it is said that the Sun "comes back to Varak, in three hundred and sixty days and the five Gâthâ days, it goes in and comes out through one and the same aperture; the aperture is not mentioned, for if it had been mentioned the demons would have known the secret and been able to introduce disaster."†

Just as the Bundahishn declares the demons as productive of disaster for the five intercalary days, the sacred Fravardegân days, Dînkard broadly declares that the intercalation is needed in order to remove the hindrances which Aharman brings in the way of human progress. By Aharman's *retarding what is forward* is meant, so far as

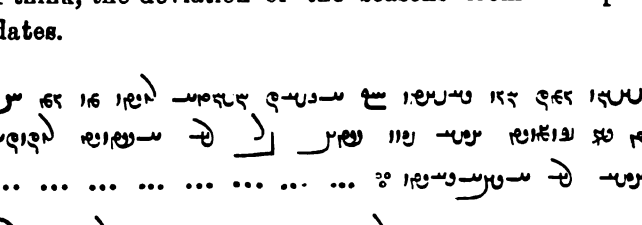
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* Better .

† S.B.E. Vol. V, p. 24.

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I think, the deviation of the seasons from the prescribed dates.



"This, too, they held in this manner. Verily there is no person, who stands under these three things, *and* is not disgusted with them, even on account of the trouble therein, *if* he can not observe their good result on earth.....

"Those two things the good results *of which* are seen on Earth; firstly, snow and rain are mentioned; for when it rains abundantly, when it is raining in *due* season, no beneficial thing is manifest, and every person is disgusted with it, even on account of the trouble therein, and considers it useless. When the month Fravardin and the month Ardibehesht arrive, *and* corn and grass grow, and the good results of rain begin to be manifest, every man's desire is this: would it had rained more this winter, *and that* we had *suffered* the greater trouble through rain."

From this passage I infer that the month Fravardin was at the Vernal Equinox at the time of the last compilation of the Pahlavi Dînkard. For Fravardin and Ardibehesht are taken as the months, when men see the good results of

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the troublesome winter—Zamestân of five months, which ends at the Vernal Equinox. I consider this passage a very important one for elucidating the age of the Dînkard. It indicates that the last recension of the Dînkard took place when the month Fravardin had already coalesced with the Vernal Equinox.

4th October 1900.

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THE ZOROASTRIAN MONTHS AND YEARS WITH THEIR DIVISIONS IN THE AVESTAIC AGE.

By Ervad Jamshedji Dadabhai Nadershah, L. C. E.

A careful study of the divisions of time enumerated in Y. I. 3-9. has disclosed to my mind so many new ideas about them that I think it advisable to place these ideas before other students so that their observations may throw more light on them. In this paper, I have discussed only three of these divisions, *viz.*, 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀 (Mâhya), 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬌 (Yâirya), and 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬌𐬌 (Saredha), leaving the rest for some future opportunity.

Mahyas or Divisions of the Lunar Month.

The Zoroastrian year in the Avestaic age was solar as will be seen further on, but the months were originally lunar as evinced by their divisions called 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀 (Mâhya), a word formed by adding the partitive suffix 𐬌𐬌 (ya) to 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀 (mâonh)= Sans. मास्, Gr. μην and μείς, Pers. ماہ, all of which originally import 'the moon', and in a secondary sense, 'a month'. Lat. mensis, *a month*, A. S. mona, *the moon*, and mono, *a month*, and Eng. moon and month are all akin to these. The divisions of the month, as enumerated in Y. I., are three :— 1) 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀-𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎 (añtare-mâonha), 2) 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀-𐬯𐬉𐬉𐬎𐬎 (perenô-mâonha), and 3) 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀-𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎 (vîshaptatha). 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀-𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎 (añtare-mâonha) is 'the day on which the moon is between the earth and the sun, *i. e.*, in conjunction,' the 'amâmâsî' of Sanskrit. It is composed of 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬎 (añtare) = Sans. अन्तर्, Lat. inter, Ger. unter, *between*; 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀 (mâonh), *the moon;* and the affix 𐬎 (a). 𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀-𐬯𐬉𐬉𐬎𐬎 (perenô-mâonha, = Sans. पूर्णमासी) is 'the full moon day.' It is composed of 𐬯𐬉𐬉𐬎𐬎 (perena) = Sans. पूर्ण, Lat. plenus, Eng. plenary, *full*,

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complete; 𐬨𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬀 (mâonh), *the moon*; and the affix 𐬀 (a). 𐬯𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀 (vîshaptatha, = Sans. द्विसप्ताह, *two weeks, a fortnight*) seems to be the fortnight between the full-moon day and the new-moon day, and probably also that between the new-moon day and the full-moon day. It is a compound of 𐬯𐬌 (vî) = Sans. द्वि, Gr. δυο, Lat. duo, Pers. دو, A. S. twâ, Eng. two; and 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀 (haptatha) = Sans. सप्ताह, Pers. هفته, *se'nnight, a week*, from 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬐𐬌 (haptan) = Sans. सप्तन् Gr. επτα, Lat. septem, Pers. هفت, A. S. seofan, Eng. seven. We find also 𐬵𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬐𐬀 (bis-hapta, *twice seven*) used for 'fourteen'. As we have usually 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 (bitya, *second*) for the original 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬞 (tbitya, cf. 𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬞𐬀 Vd. X. 3.), so we have 𐬯𐬌 (vî) here for 𐬯𐬎𐬌 (dvi), an obsolete form of 𐬯𐬎𐬀 (dva), *two*. The 𐬵 (h) in 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀 (haptatha) is changed into 𐬱 (sh), because in Avesta when a word beginning with 𐬵 (h) or 𐬴 (*hv*) is joined to a prefix ending in 𐬌 (i), 𐬍 (î), or 𐬏 (u) a 𐬰 (*s*) is inserted between the vowel and the 𐬵 (h). Sometimes the 𐬰 (*s*) and 𐬵 (h) combine and change into 𐬱 (sh), as here and in 𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬎𐬀𐬨 (aiwishâch) and 𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬐𐬀𐬉 (aiwishastar). The 𐬐 (tha) at the end of 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀 (haptatha) appears probably to be a contraction of 𐬐𐬀𐬉 (tatha) = Sans. तिथी, *a lunar day*.

Length of the lunar month.

That the synodical month was divided by the Zoroastrians of the Avestaic age into 30 days is manifest from the following passage :—

𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱 𐬨𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱 𐬨𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬀𐬱

Fifteen days the moon waxes, fifteen the moon wanes (Yt. 7, 2.). Since, however, the mean length of the month is 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 2.87 s. they must have at times dropped a day like the other ancient nations.

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27 PROMINENT CREATIONS, DIVIDED INTO 4 GROUPS.

In Y. XVI. 3-6. there is a list given of 27 prominent creations which is divided into four parts, the first part containing six of the creations and each of the rest, seven. This list is exactly the same as that of the names of the days of the month given in the Sîrozahs, except, of course, as regards the first, fifteenth, and the twenty-third days, which are called after the Creator Himself. Though the names of the fifteenth and the twenty-third day occur also in the list, they cannot originally belong to it. This list, therefore, reminds us of the primitive 27 'nakshatras' or lunar mansions, which are the landmarks of computation of the lunar month. By the way, it may be noted here that the mansions enumerated in the Bundahishna, as well as in a manuscript Persian dictionary, dated 764 A. Y. and Samvat 1452 (now in the possession of Ervad Mânekji Rustamji Unvâlâ), are also 27 only.

FIRST GROUP, CONTAINING THE AMSHASPANDS.

The six creations mentioned in the first group are the six archangels, called Ameshâ-spentâ. In Haptân Yt., 13. though we find 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬱𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀 (hapta ameshâ speñtâ), *seven Amshâspands*, only six are named in the enumeration in Ib. 6-8. That they are, however, seven is likewise manifest from Yt. 19, 15-16. It is also clear that they are deemed to be distinct from Ahura Mazda in Y. II. 2. Yt. 2, 6. 10, 89. 19, 16. Vd. XVIV. 32. 36. But we find that in reproducing the whole list of the prominent creations in the 'Sîrozahs', one more name, *viz.*, Ahura-Mazda is added at the top. This first creates merely a suspicion in our mind that Ahura-Mazda may perhaps have been deemed, at least in a more recent age, the seventh Amshâspand. This idea gets strength when we find Ahura Mazda grouped with the six Amshâspands in the following passage as well as in the Haptân Yt :—

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Ahura Mazda the righteous, Bahman, Ardibehest, Shahrevar, Aspandârmad and Khordâd-Amardâd make their selection through this religion; the Amshâspands approve of him (*Mithra*) *by the blessing of the religion* (Yt. 10,92.). It is, however, confirmed by the expression 'Ahura Mazda and other Amshâspands' used in Yt. 10,139. and by the following passages in which Ahura Mazda is made to say : *Our name, O Zarathustra, i. e., of the Amshâspands* (Yt. 1, 3.), and again : *We who (are) Amshâspands* (Yt. 1, 24.).

It would be useful to draw here the attention of other students to Y. I. 2. where, the names of the original seven Amshâspands appear to have been mentioned as follows :—

1) Vohu-Manaṅh, 2) Asha-Vahista, 3) Khshathra-Vairya, 4) Speñtâ-Ârmaiti, 5) Haurvat-Ameretat, 6) Geus-tashan—Geus-urvan, and 7) Âtar.

It must be marked well that Âtar is here mentioned last and called : *the most painstaking or active of the Amshâspands*, a very appropriate epithet for the all-pervading heat.

SECOND GROUP, CONTAINING THE SEVEN PLANETS.

The second part of the list contains the names of the seven planets in the following order :—

1) (Ahura Mazdâ) = Pers. هرمزد, *Jupiter*. Even the Greeks and Romans have named this planet after their supreme deity. The Sanskrit name of the planet,

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बृहस्पति, which is the equivalent of 𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀-𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬀 (Ahura-Berezat) of the Avesta, also signifies 'the mighty lord'.

2) 𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬭 (Âtar), *the angel of fire*, seems to have given his name to the planet Mars which always appears RED AND FIERY. This angel is called 𐬭𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬔𐬀𐬭 (rathaêstâr), *a warrior chieftain* (Sîrozah 1, 9. 2, 9.), and 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀 𐬭𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬵𐬉𐬔𐬀𐬭, *powerful, firm warrior chieftain* (Y. LXII. 8.). In Persian the planet is called بهرام, after the name of the angel of victory, who is a coadjutant of Âdar. Mars was also worshipped at Rome as a god of war. It should be further noted that one of the significations of मंगल, the Sanskrit name of the planet, is 'brave', and that the word is also used as a name of Agni.

3). 𐬀𐬐𐬀 (âpô), which originally means 'the waters,' seems to have been used as the name of Venus, because in Persian it is called ناهید, which is a contraction of 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬀𐬐𐬎 (anâhitâ), the adjunct of 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎 𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀 (Aredvî-Sûrâ), *the river* (𐬀𐬐, *âp*) *Euphrates*.

4) 𐬑𐬭𐬎𐬀-𐬔𐬀𐬉𐬞𐬀 (Hvare-Khshaêta) = Pers. خورشید, *the Sun*.

5) 𐬨𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬥𐬀 (Mâonha) = Pers. ماه, *the Moon*.

6) 𐬞𐬎𐬭𐬌𐬨𐬀 (Tistrya) = Pers. تیر, *Mercury*. This word is discussed at length further on.

7) 𐬜𐬎𐬎-𐬨𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬀 (Geus-urvan) = Pers. کیوان (which seems to be a corruption of Geus-urvan), *Saturn*. The identity of Geus-urvan with Saturn is further indicated by the fact that it is believed that the god Saturn "taught the people (of Italy) agriculture, suppressed their savage mode of life, and introduced among them civilization and morality"; and we know from Y. XXIX. that Geus-urvan is also for cultivation and against rapine and immoral life. There is some temptation to compare the word with Gr. γαῖα, *the Earth*, but two objections prevent us from

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doing it; one, that further down in the list there is a word for the Earth, *viz.*, 𐬰𐬀𐬨 (Zem); and the other, that we find Saturn, and not the Earth, included with the other six planets mentioned above, in the lists of the seven planets after which the week days were named by the other neighbouring ancient nations.

THIRD AND FOURTH GROUPS, CONTAINING RESPECTIVELY MORAL AND RELIGIOUS OBJECTS.

The third part contains the names of seven moral objects and the fourth seems to comprise those of seven religious ones. The list is aptly concluded with 𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎 (Anaghra-Raochâo), *the lights not in front or at the nearest end* (but in the rear or at the furthest end), when they are, of course, obscure or very faint like the moon on the last day. It is also the name of the fourth and LAST STAGE OF REST for the souls of the pious (see Yt. 22, 15.).

THE PROMINENT CREATIONS FIRST REPRESENTED THE LUNAR MANSIONS AND AFTERWARDS THE DAYS OF THE MONTH; THEIR DIVISION INTO THE GROUPS FORMED THE ORIGINAL IDEA OF THE WEEKS.

As the moon completes its sidereal revolution round the earth in a mean period of 27 d. 7 h. 43 m. 11.5 s., its heavenly course was naturally divided at first into 27 parts or asterisms, sometimes called lunar mansions, each part representing a day. But as the period of the revolution extends beyond 27 days, it must have been, at times, divided into 28 days. However, the common people, who did not observe the stars, could use only the synodical period, *i.e.*, the time of the passing of the moon from one conjunction to the other; and, therefore, when they wanted to denominate the days, 30 names had to be found for the purpose. It appears from what has been stated above that in the Avesta, the twenty-seven asterisms have been called after the 27 prominent creations mentioned above: that their names were also employed to distinguish the lunar days: that this number was increased when necessary to 28, by

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adding at the beginning the name of the seventh Amshâspand; thus making the list to contain four complete weeks, each having, however, distinct names for its days, and not the same as in the weeks in vogue at present among other nations, which is not surprising, remembering that the names of all but the second group has more or less connection with the Zoroastrian religion: and that, in order to name the days of the synodical month, this number of 28 was further increased by two by inserting the name of Ahura Mazda before each of the third and fourth groups of seven described above, whereby all the four groups were, further, made to begin with the name of Ahura Mazda. In course of time when the solar months of thirty days each came into use among the Zoroastrians, these names were employed to distinguish their days. The time of the introduction of these months is discussed further on.

Yairyas or divisions of the year, commonly called Gahanbars.

The investigation of the divisions of the year mentioned in the Avesta, which are commonly known as Gâhanbârs, discloses two kinds of year in vogue among the Zoroastrians in the Avestaic age. It also reveals their nature, use, beginning and duration. In the Avesta these divisions are called 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 (Yâirya), a word formed like 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 (asnya, *a division of the day*) and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 ('Mâhya', *a division of the lunar month*) by adding the partitive suffix 𐬌𐬀 (ya) to 𐬌𐬀𐬎 (Yâre, = Ger. jahr, A. S. gear, Eng. year). They are six in number, *viz.*, 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬀 (Maidhyô-zaremya), or 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬎 (Maidhyô-zaremaya), 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬨 (Maidhyôshma) or 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬵𐬧𐬀 (Maidhyôshema), 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬀 (Paitis-hahya), 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬚𐬁𐬨𐬀 (Ayâthrema), 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 (Maidhyâirya), and 𐬵𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬫𐬀𐬨𐬌𐬀𐬎 (Hamaspathmaêdya). Their lengths are found in the Âfrigân Gâhanbâr as written in some manuscripts

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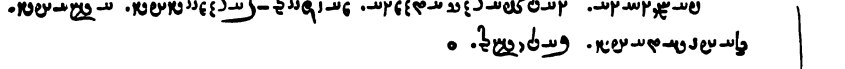
mentioned by Westergaard in his notes on the Âfrigân, and their specialities in Vsp. I. and II.

Their Lengths.

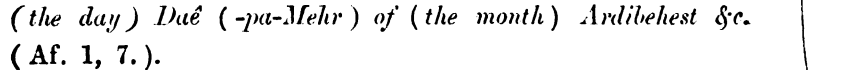
In the Âfrigân-Gâhanbâr there is a statement of the different rewards which a Mazdayasnian receives in the next life for what he gives as present in this to the Ratu *(relgious head)* on the 45th day of Maidhyô-Zaremya, the 60th of Maidhyôshma, the 75th of Paitis-hahya, the 30th of Ayâthrema, the 80th of Yâirya and the 75th of Hamaspathmaêdya, respectively. The sum of these numbers is 365, which indicates that the divisions are of the solar year and that the numerals represent the total number of days in their relative divisions or seasons.

Their corresponding Months and Days.

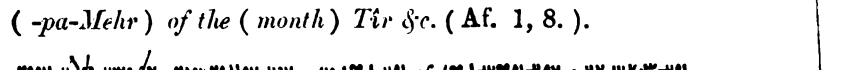
Side by side with these days are mentioned, as given below, the names of the corresponding months and their days.



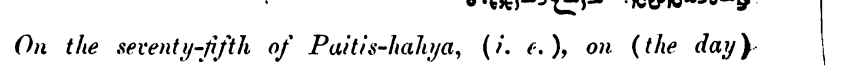
And on the forty-fifth (day) of Maidhyô-Zaremya, (i. e.), on (the day) Daê (-pa-Mehr) of (the month) Ardibehest &c. (Af. 1, 7.).



On the sixtieth of Maidhyôshma, (i. e.), on (the day) Daê (-pa-Mehr) of the (month) Tîr &c. (Af. 1, 8.).



On the seventy-fifth of Paitis-hahya, (i. e.), on (the day) Anirân of (the month) Shahrevar &c. (Af. 1, 9.).

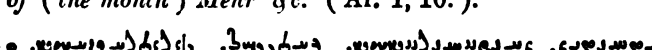


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On the thirtieth of Ayâthrema, (i. e.), on (the day) Anîrân of (the month) Mehr &c. (Af. 1, 10.).



On the eightieth of Maidhyâirya, (i. e.), on (the day) Behrâm of (the month) Daê &c. (Af. 1, 11.).



On the seventy-fifth of Hamaspathmaêdya, (i. e.), on the Vahistôisti Gâthâ (Af. 1, 12.).

THESE MONTHS AND DAYS APPEAR TO BE INTERPOLATIONS IN THE AFRIGAN.

I believe that the phrases containing the names of the months and days in the Âfrigân are later interpolations for the following reasons:—

1. The names of the months are different among the different ancient tribes professing the Zoroastrian religion, such as, the Persians of the Achæmenian period, the Seistânese, the Sogdians and the Chorasmians. They would most probably have been uniform among all these nations, had they been originally introduced or adopted in the Avesta. Some of the names used by the Achæmenian Persians are found in a cuneiform inscription of Darius Hystaspes written about 500 B. C. in a deteriorated Avestaic language, and those used by the other tribes are given by Albîrûnî in his Alâthâr Albâqiya an-el-Qorun Alkhâliya, a chronology of the ancient nations, written about 1000 A.C., an English translation of which has been published by Dr. C. Edward Sachau in 1879.

2. The names of the months are not found anywhere else in the Avesta, not even in the enumeration of the divisions of time or of the year.

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3. The phrases relating to the months and their days follow those relating to the corresponding Yâiryas and their days, and are, therefore, merely explanatory additions.

4. To mark the particular days of the year nothing can be more definite than the phrases 'the 45th day of Maidhyô-Zaremya', &c. On the contrary, if these were omitted, it would have been impossible to determine the first two of these days satisfactorily from the names of the months and their days alone, as given in the Âfrigân; since the word 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬎𐬎𐬀 (Dathushô) used there for the 15th day equally represents the 8th and the 23rd days, if not also the first day. These explanatory phrases are at least so imperfectly worded, if not incorrectly, that instead of serving to explain the original phrases, they themselves are made clear by the latter. There is, therefore, a strong probability that these additional phrases do not belong to the Avestaic age.

5. The words expressing the days of the months and of the Yâiryas *(seasons)*, which are used as denominative adverbs in the Âfrigân, are not in the same case; the former are in the genitive whereas the latter in the accusative. As a rule we find in the Avestâ nouns in the accusative used as denominative adverbs. In a few places, however, where the words 𐬀𐬌𐬵 (ayãn), 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬎 (khshapô), and 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬐𐬎 (khshafnô) are used as denominative adverbs they appear to be in the genitive. But, as these are forms more like those of the accusative plural than of the genitive singular, and as they are elsewhere found actually used for the accusative plural, clearer proofs are necessary to consider these forms as of the genitive singular before they can be accepted as exceptions to the rule.

6. The name of the day Anîrân occurs in two of the above-quoted passages from the Âfrigân, and in both of them it is written 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬨 (Anaghranãm) instead of 𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬨 𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬨 (Anaghranãm Raochanhãm). In

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Y. XVI. and both the Sîrozahs, the only other places in the Avesta in which it occurs, the full name is used, and not the adjective alone as in the passages in question. In Pahlavi, however, it is simply called 𐭠𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭠𐭭 (Anîrân), the Pahlavi form of Anaghranăm, and this seems to have been reproduced in the passages.

THE MONTHS INTRODUCED BY THE CHALDEAN ZOROASTRIANS.

These names of the months are the same as those used in Pahlavi, a Chaldeo-Persian language, which are exactly similar to those described by Albîrûnî in his Athâr-ul-Bâqiya as used by the Persians, meaning apparently the Persians of the Sâssânian period, whose court language was Pahlavi. Some of these names of the Persian months, including some of those mentioned in the Âfrigân, are found used in the Pahlavi inscription of Darius Hystaspes; and some, adopted by the Jews, a nation neighbouring and kindred to the Chaldeans, about the time of their release by Cyrus in 538 B. C. from captivity in Babylon. But they are entirely different from those in use among other Zoroastrian nations than the Chaldeo-Persians, such as, the Sogdians, the Chorasmians, the Seistanese, and the Achæmenian Persians. It seems, therefore, very probable that they were originally used by the Chaldean Zoroastrians long before the time of the liberation of the Jews.

TIME OF THEIR INTRODUCTION.

The Avestaic word 𐬠𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬭𐬌 (Tistrya), the name of the fourth month, is originally the name of the swiftest planet Mercury. It is likened in the Avesta to a celestial arrow (𐬠𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬭𐬌 𐬐𐬎𐬹𐬭𐬌, tighris mainivasâo, Yt. 8,6.), and, therefore, called 𐭮𐭩𐭫 in Pahlavi besides 𐭮𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭫, تير in Persian, and چيري in Chorasmian. The Pahlavi form 𐭮𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭫 is, however, sometimes distinctly used for an asterism (see Bd. V.). The Chorasmian word چيري another form of the Persian تير, the name of the 13th day of the

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month, represents the asterism तिष्य ' (ε,δ,ν *Canceri*, the second half of the Zodiacal constellation Cancer) which is regarded as shaped like an arrow. This asterism is called 𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 (Taraha) in Bundahishn, and تیر in the manuscript Persian dictionary mentioned above which seems to be a miswriting for تیر. Again 𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀 (Tistrya) and तिष्य are cognate words derived from the same root, viz., تیز (tiz) = Sans. तिज्, *to be sharp*, (cf. Sans. तीक्ष्ण, *sharp*, and Pers. تیشه, *an axe*). It will not, therefore, be wrong to infer that 𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬀 (Tistrya) signified also an asterism, and that the same as the Hindu तिष्य. This inference is strengthened by the word 𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬴𐬌 (Tistryênyô, acc. pl.), an adjectival noun derived from 𐬙𐬌𐬎𐬀 (Tistrya), being found used for an asterism in Yt. 8, 12. It seems that instead of Tistrya its adjectival noun form was sometimes employed to indicate the asterism in order to distinguish the asterism from the planet of the same name. Similarly, for the asterim कृत्तिका, *Pleiades*, we find in Persian پروین = Pahl. پرویز (both of these are only transformations of Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬉𐬱𐬀 Paoiryascha, *and the first*), and پروین = Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬴𐬌 (Paoiryênyô, acc. pl. Yt. 8, 12.). In Sanskrit the asterism तिष्य is moreover called पुष्य. This word also has given its name to the fourth Hindu month, counting from अश्विणी, originally the name of the asterism β, γ Arietis, the first half of the first sign Aries. Thus it appears that Tistrya, which is originally the name of the planet Mercury, came first to signify the asterism तिष्य and afterwards it was employed, like पुष्य, to designate the month corresponding to the Zodiacal constellation containing the asterism Tistrya, The nakshatra कृत्तिका, the *asterism Pleiades*, is called in the Avesta language 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬴𐬌 (Paoiryênyô = Persian پروین); and the one before it, *viz.*, भरणी (ε,δ,ν

Arietis), 𐬉𐬌𐬯𐬀-𐬌𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬉𐬎 (Upa-paoirya, Yt. 8, 12. = Pahl. 𐭯𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭪*, Pers. پیش پرویز, miswritten نیش پرویز in the manuscript Persian dictionary mentioned above). It is, therefore, manifest that when the names were first given the year commenced with the time of the sun's entering into the asterism Pleiades. This occurred about 2,000 years before the Christian era, when the constellation containing the asterism Tistrya was third. If we assume that the months were first named during this period, Tistrya must originally be third instead of fourth as at present, and the month Fravardin, last instead of first as now. That the month Fravardin originally stood last appears very likely from the fact that the Fravashis are said to come to this world during the last days of the year, and, therefore, it would be rational to have called the last month Fravardin after the Fravashis. It thus appears probable that these months received their names about 2,000 B. C. The subject is so important that I hope these few hints will engage the serious attention of other scholars to it.

The Months and their Days inserted in the Afringan during the Sassanian religious renaissance.

However, according to the order in which the months are mentioned in the Âfringân and their positions determined therein relatively to the six seasons of the year, commencing, as will be seen further on, from the Vernal Equinox, the month Tistrya is fourth and corresponds with the time of the Sun's passing through the SIGN Cancer. The CONSTELLATION Cancer was fourth in order when it and the other Zodiacal constellations which appear to be continually moving, though very slowly, were conventionally fixed as signs in the time of Hipparchus, who made his astronomical observations between 160 and 135 years before Christ, since

* Corrected from 𐭯𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭫𐭩𐭪.

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in his time the equinoctial colure is supposed to have passed through the constellation Aries,* more particularly through the asterism Asvinî. Though the names of the months were introduced long before the time of Hipparchus, they do not seem to have been accepted by the ruling races of the Zoroastrians until the time of the Sâssânians, as the names used in the Achæmenian Persian inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, who reigned from 521-486 B. C., are different, notwithstanding that those used in his Pahlavi inscriptions are the same. These names, however, appear to have been adopted for general use by the Persians in the Sâssânian period, since the names of their months and days given by Albîrunî are the same as those found in the Âfringân and in the Pahlavi books, and now in use among all the Zoroastrians. The Chaldeo-Persians, when in supreme power, seem to have introduced in the religion, while reforming it, their own simple system of computing the days of the solar year by means of the months of equal lengths in place of the old system of calculating them by means of the Yâiryas (*seasons*), varying in length from 30 to 80 days. The phrases in the Âfringân containing the months and their days, therefore, appear to have been inserted there about the time of the reformation of the Zoroastrian religion by the Sâssânian king Ardeshar Bâbagân during his sovereignty from 226-241 A. C.

Specialities of the 'yairyas' or seasons.

The adjuncts to the Yâiryas or Gâhanbârs given in Vsp. I. and II. depict their specialities. The adjunct to Maidhyô-zaremya is 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬀 (payanh), *sappy, juicy; milky*; a denominative adjective derived from 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬀 (payanh) = Sans. पयस्, *juice, vital spirit* (Ved.); *milk*: al-

* Vide "Use of the Globes," by Thomas Keith, new edition, pp. 4 and 14.

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luding by it to the growth of sap in trees and of milk in animals. The adjunct to Maidhyôshma is 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌 (vâstrô-dâtaêna), *relating to the mowing of pasture*, from 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 (vâstra) = Lat. pastus, Eng. pasture, and 𐬌𐬎 (dâ) = Sans. दा, to *cut*: indicating thereby that in this season, of course in Persia, the pasture is ready to be mown. The adjunct to Paitis-hahya is 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌 (hahya), *relating to corn and fruit*, a denominative adjective derived from 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌 (hahya) = Sans. सस्य, *corn, grain; fruit*: implying that it is the proper season for storing corn and fruit. The adjunct to Ayâthrema is 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀 (fraourvaêstrema), *relating to the commencement of storm*, and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌 (varshni-harsta), *left or deserted by rains*. The former is composed of 𐬀𐬌𐬎 (fra) = Sans. प्र, *in advance, in front*, and 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 (urvaêstrema), *a storm*, formed by adding 𐬌𐬌 (ma), a superlative suffix to 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 (urvaêstra), *a blast, wind*, derived from the root 𐬀𐬌𐬎 (urvîz) = Sans. उद्वीज्, *to blow upon* or *towards*; and the latter is composed of 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌 (varshni) = Sans. वर्षणि, *raining, rain*, and 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 (harsta) = Sans. सृष्ट, *deserted, left*. These adjuncts indicate that with the advent of Ayâthrema the rains ceased and the storms commenced. The adjunct to Maidhyâirya is 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌 (saredha) = Pers. سرد, A. S. cald, ceald, Eng. cold, which is derived from the root 𐬯𐬀𐬎 (sar) = A. S. celan, calan, *to be cold*. The following words are also derived from the same root:— Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌 (saret), *freezing*: Sans. शिशिर, *freezing*; and शरद् and शरदा, *autumn; year*: Pers. سرما, *cold*: A. S. cele, cyle, *chill*: Eng. cool and chill. The adjunct to Hamaspathmaêdya is 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 (areto-kerethana), *relating to the slaughter of the sacrifice*; from 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎 (areta) = Sans.

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𐬀𐬉𐬙, *a sacrifice*, and 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀 (kerethana) = Sans. कथनं, *killing, slaughter*. This shows that animal sacrifice was offered specially during this Gâhanbâr.

IMPORT OF THEIR NAMES:— MAIDHYO-ZAREMYA.

The very names of the Gâhanbârs give us some useful information about them. 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 (Maidhyô-zaremya) is composed of 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀 (maidhya) = Sans. मध्य, Lat. medius, A. S. midd, *middle*; and 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀 (zaremya), *spring*, probably derived from the root 𐬵𐬀𐬉 (zere) = Sans. हृ, *to charm, captivate*. 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬐𐬀 (zaredhaya) = Sans. हृदय, *heart* (which is liable to be captivated); 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬐 (zaredh, see 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬌𐬌𐬌 and 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬎) = Sans. हृद्, Pers. دل, A. S. heorte, G. herz, Icel. hjarta, Lat. cor, cordis, Eng. heart; and 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀 (zairi) = Sans. हरि, Eng. green (which is a charming color); all these appear to have been derived from the same root 𐬵𐬀𐬉 (zere). Maidhyô-zaremya, therefore, literally means 'the period of the year ending with the middle of spring;' in the same way we have 𐬐𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬴𐬀 (Ushahina), *the division of the day ending with* 𐬐𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬴 (Ushanh) = Sans. उषस्, *dawn*. The word 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀 (zaremya) is found used by itself in the following passage:—

𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀
𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀 𐬐𐬀𐬉𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬐𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬐𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬉𐬵𐬀

In the spring when moon-light shines the sap of the green trees rises from the earth (Yt. 7, 4.).

We have noted before that Maidhyô-zaremya, which ends with the middle of spring, has 45 days. Zaremya, *spring*, must, therefore, be of 90 days, *i. e.*, of the same length as the present astronomical spring.

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MAIDHYOSHMA.

(Maidhyôshma) is, in the same way as (mithôkhta, Vis. XX. 2.), composed of (maidhya), *middle*, and (ushma) = Sans. उष्म, *heat; the hot season*. Literally, therefore, it means 'the period of the year ending with the middle of the hot season.' This period contains sixty days, which commence immediately after the expiry of the 45 days of the first half of the spring and, therefore, include the remaining 45 days of the second half of it. Consequently, (ushma), the hot season of the Avesta, is not an entirely distinct period of time from that of spring, but covers it, and that to the full extent as can be inferred from the following passage :—

It is known that there are seven summery months and five wintery (Vd. I. 4.).

The seven months of summer contain 210 days ; therefore, there will be 105 days upto the middle of it. This is the exact total of the 45 days of Maidhyô-zaremya and the 60 days of Maidhyôshma. Thus it is apparent that both the first and the second halves of the spring are covered by Ushma, the hot season. It further indicates that the seven months of the summer commenced with the beginning of the spring. Again Paitis-hahya and Ayâthrema which come after the Maidhyôshma have 75 and 30 days respectively. The sum of these days is also 105. This shows that as the first half of the hot season covers Maidhyô-zaremya and Maidhyôshma, the second half covers Paitis-hahya and Ayâthrema.

PAITIS-HAHYA.

(Paitis-hahya) is a compound of (paiti) = Sans. प्रति, a prefix expressing resemblance; and (hahya) = Sans. सस्य, corn; fruit.

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Literally it means 'a semblance of corn and fruit' like Virgo, a representation of the female reaper, indicating that corn and fruit are ripe and ready to be gathered. In Persia people store up corn and fruit about this time of the year.

Ayathrema.

(Ayâthrema) is composed of (aya) = Sans. अय, *going*; (âtar) = Pers. آتش, *heat, fire*; and the superlative suffix (ma), indicating extremity. Its literal meaning is 'the time of the entire passing away of the heat'. (âtar) seems te be derived from a root (ât) = A. S. hætan, Eng. to heat. Also the following words appear to be derived from the same root:— A. S. hat, and English hot; Sans. आत्मन्, and Ved. त्मन्. The last two are used only for the fire of life, *i. e.*, the soul. Life is generally deemed to be a fire, and hence we speak of its being extinguished like fire.

The five varieties of Âtar.

That the word (âtar) represents heat in its abstract, concrete and metaphorical forms, is evident from the names and descriptions of its five varieties, *viz.*, 1. (Âtar Berezi-savanh), 2. (Âtar Vohû-fryâna), 3. (Âtar Urvâzista), 4. (Âtar Vâzista), and 5. (Âtar Spènista).

These names are mentioned in Y. XVII. 11. and their description is given in Bd. XVII. (Âtar Berezi-savanh) is said to be 'the splendor which is in the presence of God and Kings' ( ). (Berezi-savanh) means 'majestic;' from (berezi) = Ved. बृहन्, *great, lofty*,

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mighty; and (savanh) = Ved. सवस्, *power*; and, Âtar Berezi-savanh, therefore, signifies 'the majestic splendor'. The Hebrew אדר, *to be magnificent*, *glorious*, and אדיר, *magnificent*, *illustrious*, *glorious*, appear to be derivatives of used, as here, in the sense of glory and majesty.

(Âtar Vohû-fryâna) is described as 'the fire or warmth in the body of men and animals' ( ). (fryâna) means 'of or relating to the agreeable breathing or healthy life'; from (frya) = Sans. प्रिय, *valued*, *agreeable*; and (ana) = Sans. अन, *breath*, *spiration*. Âtar Vohû-fryâna, therefore, signifies 'the fire or warmth of good life'. (Âtar Urvâzista) is stated to be 'the heat which is in plants' ( ). (urvâzista) means 'most helpful in raising up or rearing'. It is the superlative of an adjective corresponding with Sans. उद्वाहिन्, *what raises or draws up*. Âtar Urvâzista, therefore, signifies 'the heat which helps most in raising up or rearing plants', namely, that which is received from the Sun. (Âtar Vâzista) is represented to be 'the fire or electricity which is in clouds' ( ). (vâzista) is the superlative of an adjective corresponding with *Ved.* वाजिन्, *swift*. Âtar Vâzista, therefore, signifies the 'swiftest fire, *i. e.*, lightning or thunderbolt'. It may be noted here that Sans. वाजी means 'an arrow'. (Âtar Spènista) is, it is stated, 'the fire which is used in the world as well as the fire of Behrâm' ( ). (spènista) is the superlative of an adjective the corresponding Sanskrit form of which is

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शुन, which means 'causing prosperity or happiness.' Âtar Spènista, therefore, signifies 'the house-hold fire which causes the greatest happiness, also the Âtash Behrâm.'

MAIDHYAIRYA.

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬎 (Maidhyâirya) is a compound of 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 (maidhya), *middle*, and 𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬎 (Yâirya), *the divisions of* 𐬌𐬭𐬌 (Yâre), *a year*. The word, therefore, literally means 'the period of the year which ends with the middle of the divisions of 𐬌𐬭𐬌 (Yâre)'. The middle of the divisions would bisect either their number or length. If we take the number, Paitis-hahya, Ayâthrema, and Maidhyâirya would form the first half, and Hamaspathmaêdya, Maidhyô-zaremya, and Maidhyôshma, the second half. If we take the length the result is the same; since, the first three divisions make six months, and the last three also six, and, as we have noted before, the whole year consists of twelve months, seven of summer and five of winter. Thus it appears that Paitis-hahya is originally the first division of Yâre, though in the Avesta in the enumeration of Yâiryas, *the divisions of the year*, it is mentioned third.

We can now understand why Yâiryas are called 𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬎 (Gâs-anbâr) in Pahlavi and گاهنبار (Gâhanbâr) in Persian, both of which words literally mean 'the time of storing.' Since these divisions of the year ordinarily began with Paitis-hahya, the season of storing (گاهنبار) the corn and fruit as stated before in discussing the word 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬎 (Paitis-hahya), the designation Gâhanbâr was naturally used as a generic term for all the divisions. It is a synecdoche in which the species is substituted for the genus.

HAMASPATHMAEDYA.

𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬎 (Hamaspathmaêdya) appears to mean literally 'the period of the year ending with the

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finishing festival of sacrifices,' from 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑 (hamaspat), *completing, finishing*, and 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 (maêdya), *the festival relating to sacrifices*. The root 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬑 (hamaspat) is here used in the sense of the present participle, like 𐬀𐬑 (ise) in 𐬀𐬑𐬵𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬰𐬀𐬑 (ise-khshathra), *commanding, i. e., supreme ruler*. It is composed of 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀 (hama) = Sans. सम, *complete*, and 𐬯𐬀𐬑 (pat) = Sans. पत्, *to go; to happen, occur*. Compare this with Sans. समापद्, *to be finished;* the root पद् here seems to be akin to पत्, as both of them mean *to fall; fall down; fall out;* and *go*. For the redundant 𐬎 (s) in 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬯𐬀𐬑 (hamaspat) we have another instance in 𐬉𐬀𐬐𐬎𐬯𐬎 (upas-puthri), *pregnant*. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎 (maêdya), *the sacrificial festival*, is derived from 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬀 (maêda) = Sans. मेध, *an animal sacrifice; a sacrifice in general;* from the root मेध्, *to kill, immolate*. The above radical meaning of Hamaspathmaêdya, *viz.*, 'the period of the year ending with the finishing festival of sacrifices,' is borne out by its adjunct 𐬀𐬎𐬉𐬀𐬐𐬎-𐬵𐬉𐬀𐬎 (aretô-kerethana), which means 'relating to the slaughter of the sacrifice.' It should be remembered here that 𐬀𐬎𐬉 (areta) = Sans. ऋत, is derived from the root 𐬉𐬀 (ere) = Sans. ऋ, *to go, to move*, and, therefore, originally it means 'gone', and from this, in a secondary sense, 'that which has gone aright; right path, righteous way; pious custom; pious action; sacrificial rite; and sacrifice'. It will be seen from this that the original idea of sacrifice is to perform a pious deed to please a spiritual being, and this is done by offering any enjoyable thing to him whether it be an animal, food, flowers, clothing, or prayers.

Muktat festival.

We find such a sacrificial ceremony annually performed by the Zoroastrians during the last ten days of their year,

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commonly known as Muktât, a contraction of Sans. मुक्तात्मन्, *emancipated soul*. During this period of ten days, the last five of which are called Hamaspathmaêdaêm Gâhanbâr, the Zoroastrians make offerings of food and flowers to the Fravashis of their deceased ancestors and relatives, who, according to Yt. 13, 49-52., come to this world in order that they may receive the oblations. That this is a very old festival is apparent from the allusion made to it in the Avesta and from the description of it given by Albîrûnî, who says,

"The last five days of this month (Âbân), the first of which is Ashtâdh are called Farwardajân. During this time people put food in the halls of the dead and drink on the roofs of the houses, believing that the spirits of their dead during these days come out from the places of their reward or their punishment, that they go to the dishes laid out for them, imbibe their strength and suck their taste. They fumigate their houses with juniper, that the dead may enjoy its smell. The spirits of the pious men dwell among their families, children, and relations, and occupy themselves with their affairs, although invisible to them.

"Regarding these days there has been among the Persians a controversy. According to some they are the last five days of the month Âbân, according to others they are the Andergâh, *i. e.* the five *Epagomenæ* which are added between Âbân and Âdhâr-Mâh. When the controversy and dispute increased, they adopted all (ten) days in order to establish the matter on a firm basis, as this is one of the chief institutes of their religion, and because they wished to be careful, since they were unable to ascertain the real facts of the case. So they called the first five days the first Farwardajân, and the following five days the second Farwardajân; the latter, however, is more important than the former.

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"The first day of these *Epagomenæ* is the first day of the sixth Gahanbâr, in which God created men. It is called *Hamaçpatmaêdhaêm-Gâh.*" (Chronology of Ancient Nations, p. 210).

Again he observes, "In the five last days of Ispandârmajî and the following five *Epagomenæ* they (the Khwârizmians) do the same which the Persians do in Farwardajân, *i. e.*, they lay out food in the temples for the spirits of the dead." (P. 226).

It may be noted here that the Âbân-Mâh of the Persians corresponds with the Ispandârmajî of the Khwârizmians. According to Albîrûnî the first day of Âdhâr-Mâh of the Persians 'was the beginning of spring at the time of the Kisrâs' (p. 211).

That this is a very old festival is apparent also from the fact that other ancient nations who were in contact with the Persians had similar festivals. The Romans offered for the ghosts of the dead in February, the last month of their year, expiatory sacrifices called Februa, which gave the month its name. The Hindus perform the obsequial rites to the Manes during Pitripaksha, the dark half of Bhâdrapada (the last month of a year, as will be noticed in the passages quoted from the Surya-Siddhânta further on in the discussion on the years), when offerings of fire and water are made to the Manes; and about these rites it is said in one of the above mentioned passages of the Surya-Siddhânta that whatever is given to the Pitaras in these days is inexhaustible. The Arabs celebrate the Id-e Korbân on the 10th of Zil-Hejjah, their last month, when they sacrifice animals. The Jews observed the feast of Passover on the 15th day of the first month (Nisan) of the ecclesiastical year, which feast lasted eight days during which they killed a lamb, or if that could not be found, a kid without blemish.

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THE YEARS (YARE) AND (SAREDHA).

In the invocations in the Avesta, though the word (Yâirya) is used for 'the divisions of the year,' which is, as stated before, derived from (Yâre), the name, as we have seen elsewhere, of the year beginning with the Gâhanbâr or season called Paitis-hahya; the word used immediately after for the year itself is not (Yâre) but (Saredha) = Pers. سال; and, in the order of the divisions, the one mentioned first is Maidhyô-zaremya and not Paitis-hahya, the first of the divisions of Yâre as noted before. This shows that whereas Yâre is the year commencing with Paitis-hahya, Saredha is the one beginning with Maidhyô-zaremya; and that the former was originally divided into six periods which were adopted afterwards to the latter for ceremonial purposes.

The knowledge that the year called Yâre began with Paitis-hahya and the one named Saredha with Maidhyô-zaremya is not sufficient to enable us to fix definitely the day on which either of these years commenced. If, however, the first day of one of these two years be known the other can easily be calculated from it. Luckily we find the following passage in Ch. XXVII. of the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary which enables us to fix exactly the first day of one of them:—

: *The first day-time is of twelve Hâthras.*

It appears from this same chapter that (Hâthra) is used for divisions or measures of various kinds, such as, of time, space, words, &c., and of various lengths. This word as well as (hâiti), *a chapter*, and the Latin prefix se, *asunder*, seem to be derived from an obsolete root

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(hâ), *to divide, to sever.* The Sanskrit infinitive सातुम्, *to kill, to destroy,* probably preserves the root but in a secondary sense. The division of the day-time into twelve Hâthras mentioned in the above passage reminds us at once of the twice twelve or twenty-four hours into which a nycthemeron, or day and night, is divided. This impression is confirmed by the comparison of (Hâthra) with Gr. ὥρα, Lat. hora, and Eng. hour. The Greek and the Latin words seem originally to imply, like (Hâthra), 'a period or division of time'; because, besides indicating 'an hour,' the former means 'time; the time of day; a season; a year; age etc.': and the latter, 'a time; a season of the year; any division of time; a day; a month etc. Sans. होरा, *an hour,* is rightly supposed to be borrowed from the Greek ὥρα, which, it is stated, is much later in the definite signification of an hour, being probably so first used by the astronomer Hipparchus about 140 B. C. It is, however, manifest that the Greek word itself is only a transformation of (Hâthra). The length of the FIRST day-time as given in the above passage is, therefore, of twelve hours, and consequently its corresponding night would also be of twelve hours, *i. e.,* the day and night would be of equal length. This occurs only at either of the two equinoxes. The first day referred to in the passage quoted above by the phrase (aghrem ayare) is, therefore, one of the two equinoctial ones, and the phrase, on account of the simple attributive it contains, *viz.,* (aghrem), *first,* cannot mean anything but, like Naorôz, 'the first day of the year.' We have noted before that Saredha commences with Maidhyô-zaremya, a spring season, and Yâre with Paitis-hahya, a season which begins immediately after the expiry of Maidhyôshma, a period ending with the middle of the hot season. The first day of Yâre, therefore, cannot coincide with the day referred to in the passage in question, but the first day of Saredha can; because,

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one of the two equinoxes falls in spring, the first season of Saredha, and is, therefore, called the Vernal Equinox. Wherefore, the equinoctial day mentioned in the Zand-Pahlavi Glossary is the first day of Saredha and the same as the Jamshedi Naorôz. Thus we find that Saredha (which is apparently the religious year of the Zoroastrians, being the only one invoked in the Avesta) commences from the Vernal Equinox and, therefore, ends with winter.

In the discussion of the speciality of Maidhyâirya we have observed that 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬎𐬀 (saredha) means 'cold.' From this the word would naturally indicate 'the cold season or winter,' and thence, 'the year ending with the cold season.' The cognate Sans. शरद् and शरदा signify 'autumn,' and thence, 'a year.' In the same way, वर्ष which signifies 'rain' (in the feminine form वर्षा, *the rainy season*) and हिम which signifies 'the cold season,' both indicate also 'a year.' When the Hindus, the 'Mâzainya Daeva' of the Avesta, left their original abode situated mainly to the north of the country of the Asurâs or the Zoroastrian Irânians, for the ancient India, the country of the Indus, and divided the year into the six seasons, the word शरद् and शरदा seem to have adopted the new signification, *viz.*, 'autumn,' in place of the original one which has been retained in the Avesta and other kindred languages. This change of meaning was natural, because the new autumnal season of the Hindus which was composed of two months included the whole of the first month of the old winter season of the Arians of the Avestaic age, which consisted of five months as stated before. The year originally represented by शरद् and शरदा, appears, therefore, to be the one which the Hindus begin from their autumn, beginning at the autumnal equinox. We find the following allusion to this year in Surya-Siddhânta XIV. (translated into English by the Rev. E. Burgess):—

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"4. Beginning with Libra, the *shadaçîtimukha* is at the end of the periods of eighty-six *(shadaçîti)* days, in succession: there are four of them, occurring in the signs of double character *(dvisvabhâva)*;

5. Namely, at the twenty-sixth degree of Sagittarius, at the twenty-second of Pisces, at the eighteenth degree of Gemini, and at the fourteenth of Virgo.

6. From the latter point, the sixteen days of Virgo which remain are suitable for sacrifices: anything given to the Fathers *(pitaras)* in them is inexhaustible."

Thus whereas 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 (Saredha) in the Avestaic language indicates the year commencing from the vernal equinox, शरद् and शरदा in Sanskrit appear to represent the year beginning at just the opposite point, namely, the Autumnal Equinox. This is one of the several instances of the words indicating the great ill-feeling between the Asuras and Daevas. Sans. वर्ष also appears to indicate primarily the same year, *i. e.*, the one commencing from the Autumnal Equinox or, to speak literally, the one ending with the rainy season.

THE YEARS 𐬵𐬌𐬐𐬀 (ZIMA), 𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬌-𐬜𐬀𐬫𐬀 (AIWI-GAMA) AND 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀 (ZAREMAYA).

𐬵𐬌𐬐𐬀 [(Zima) = Sans. हिमा, *the cold season, winter; a year* (Ved.) = Lat. hiems, *winter; a year* = Eng. hiems] and 𐬀𐬌𐬱𐬌-𐬜𐬀𐬫𐬀 (Aiwi-gâma), both of which also mean, like Saredha, 'winter' as well as 'a year, appear to indicate originally the same kind of year as Saredha'. 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀 (Zaremaya) which originally implies 'spring,' as noted before, is also used to indicate 'a year' (see 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬉𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀). It should be taken to indicate 'the year commencing with spring' until we find that in the Avestaic age one of the years in use among the Zoroastrians commenced at the Summer Solstice and ended with spring.

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Of all the five above-named words employed in the Avesta to imply 'a year', 𐬌𐬀𐬭𐬎 (Yâre) and 𐬵𐬀𐬐 (Zima) seem to be the oldest, since the former is also found used in the same sense in the Teutonic languages and the latter in Latin.

That the Sanskrit हायन, *a year*, the cognate form of the Avestaic 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬀 (zayana), *relating to winter*, was originally applied to that year only which commenced with the winter of the Aryans of the Avestaic age, is clear from the word अग्रहायन, *commencement of the year ; name of a Hindu month, commencing about the 12th of November*, (Monier Williams); *name of the month Mârgasirsha* (Apte). According to the Surya-Siddhânta XIV. 4. and 16. respectively, Libra is the first sign of the Zodiac and Kârttika the first month of the year. The beginning of this year, namely हायन, would, therefore, be about a month after the Sun's entering into the first point of Libra, which is about the time when 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬀 (zayana), *the wintry season* of the Avesta, commenced. This again puts us in mind of the antagonism between the Asuras and Daevas; since, whereas the one commenced their religious year with the hot season (𐬵𐬁𐬙), ending it with the cold one, the other began it with the cold season. The year शरद् or शरदा, discussed above, may probably be the same as हायन.

THE YEAR ORDINARILY DIVIDED INTO THE HOT AND THE COLD SEASONS CONTAINING 12 MONTHS.

Though the year was divided by the Zoroastrians for ceremonial purposes into the six periods called Gâhanbârs, it appears from the following passages that it had ordinarily only two seasons among them :—

𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎 𐬵𐬁𐬙𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎 : *If people die in the hot season also in the cold season* (Vd. V. 10.).

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: *Those who are Mazdayasnians should wait for nine nycthemerons during the cold seasons, and for the period of a month during the hot seasons* (Vd. V. 42.).

: *Here* (in Airyana-Vaeja) *there are ten wintery months, two summery* (Vd. I. 4.).

In the comment on this passage, we have : *It is known that the wintery months are seven and the summery five.*

The last two passages further show that the year was divided into twelve months. It has been noted before that the first seven were equal to 210 days, and the last five to 155 days. Each of the first seven months, therefore, had evidently thirty days, and of the remaining five months of winter, either each had thirty-one days or, as appears most probable, the first four only had thirty days each, and the remaining thirty-five days of the year belonged to the last month. That this month contained according to the Âfrîn Gâhanbâr thirty-five days is manifest from the phrase "Spaudârmat mâh Vahêstoist Gâh:" '*in the month Açpendârmat, in the (day) Vahistoist-Gâh,*' which occurs in it.

It would be useful to note at the end that the words (Yâre) and (Saredha) are found used in connection with the following different periods of time, and to mark the use of (Yâre-drâjô) instead of (Yâre), except in the two obscure passages of the Vistâsp-Yast: — : *for the period of half a year* (Vd. III. 36.); : *for the period of a year* (Vd. VII. 46.); : *for the period of two years*

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(Vd. III. 38.); 𐬞𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 (Yt. 24, 45.); 𐬞𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬞𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌 (Yt. 24, 5.); 𐬌𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 : *for seven years* (Vd. XV. 45.); 𐬞𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 : *after the fifteenth year* (Vd. XIV. 15.); 𐬞𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬌 𐬞𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 : *after fifty years* (Vd. VII. 48.).

September, 1900.

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ON THE DERIVATION OF " AVESTA "

By Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Nosherwan,
Deputy High Priest of the Deccan.

It is well-known that the Pârsî scriptures are styled 'Avestâ', but unlike the names of the sacred books of other religions, the word designating the Pârsî scriptures has not yet been satisfactorily derived or explained. Oriental scholars do not agree in their etymological explanations of this important word. There has been no lack of speculation on this point, but every explanation that is attempted is defective in one way or another.

M. Anquetil du Perron derives 'Avestâ' from 'vach', "to speak," denoting "what is spoken or said." Prof. Muller of Munich would trace it to the Sanskrit root 'sthâ' with 'ava', meaning "state", "condition", and compares it with the English word 'text' denoting "the original version of the sacred writings." The late Dr. Haug derived the word from 'vid' "to know", with the prefix 'â.' 'Â-vistâ' would thus mean "what is known or proclaimed to be the law." Mons. J. Oppert suggests that it may be traced to the Persian word 'Abastâ'; while Dr. Spiegel thinks that the Avestâ word 'afasma' which means "a kind of metre" or "a line of a Gâthic verse", may be the original of what we now call 'Avestâ'. There are other scholars who have given slightly different derivations, but their tenor will be evident from the above summary of the views of the leading European Avestâ scholars. The derivation I propose is different from any of the above suggestions.

I think the best way to ascertain the meaning of 'Avestâ' is to see if the word is used anywhere in our sacred books, and if so how the word is, or can be, interpreted in that place. Now the word 'Avestâ', as such, does not occur in

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the books, but its negative form 'an-aiwyâsta' occurs in Vd. XVIII, 2, 5, 7, 9. The whole phrase is 'an-aiwyâstô daenâm'. European scholars have translated the phrase to mean "without being girded according to the law". The Huzvârîsh gloss however explains it to mean "They do not think of the law." There are thus two meanings assigned to 'an-aiwyâsta'; European scholars taking it to mean "ungirded", and the Huzvârîsh gloss explaining it as equivalent to "not learned." If we can decide which of these two interpretations is correct or reasonable, it will undoubtedly throw some light upon the original meaning of the word 'Avestâ.'

European scholars appear to be influenced by the word 'aiwyâonghana' which means "a girdle" in Y. IX, 81. They seem to regard that 'aiwyâsta' is the past participle of the same root from which the noun 'aiwyâonghana' is derived. This derivation is no doubt correct, but it does not follow therefrom that the meaning of the noun and the past participle must be the same in every case. This is the principal point to which I wish to draw the attention of Avestâ scholars and critics in this connection.

Both these words can be easily traced to Sanskrit 'abhi+asana' and 'abhi+asta.' and in Sanskrit both of them have more than one meaning. In Sanskrit they are both derived from the root 'as' with 'abhi' which means "to learn", "to repeat", "to throw down", or "to throw round." 'Abhyasana' or 'abhyâsa' may thus mean in Sanskrit either "close study", "reciting", "throwing down", or "throwing round." The latter word, namely, 'abhyâsa' is used by Pâṇini to denote the repetition or reduplication of a root in forming the perfect tense of a root, and in Mathematics 'abhyasta' means "multiplied", it being so used in Nirukta, the oldest commentary on the Veda. 'Abhyasta' also denotes "repeated," "learnt", or "studied", and Manu, in ordaining that the study of the Veda is the only legitimate duty of a true Brâhmin, uses the word 'Veda'+

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'abhyâsa' to denote that study (Manu II. 166). If the root 'abhi'+'as' and its derivatives have thus different meanings in Sanskrit, there is no reason why we should restrict the signification of the word 'Avestâ' corresponding to the word 'aiwyâsta' of the Vendidâd referred to above. 'Aiwyâsta' ='abhi'+'asta' would thus mean "learned" or "well versed," and 'an'+'aiwyâsta' would signify "not learned or versed in the law," which is the meaning assigned to the word in the Huzvârîsh gloss.

The context not only favours, but, in my opinion, demands such an interpretation. The Fargard opens with the description of persons who are not true 'Âthravas' or priests. The second verse of the Fargard tells us that a man may wear a 'paiti-dâna', and yet be 'an-aiwyâsta' in the law, in which case he is not a true Âthrava, and so if he carries a stick (verse 5) or a tree, the Beresma, (verse 7) or a dagger (mârghan) (verse 9), he is not a true Âthrava if he is 'an-aiwyâsta' in the law. Here the object is evidently to caution the true believers against hypocrites, who punctually observe all the external forms or carefully equip themselves with all the external marks of an Âthrava, but do not possess the requisite learning.

If we therefore take 'an-aiwyâsta' to mean "ungirded", we shall be contrasting one external indication, namely, wearing a 'paiti-dâna', with another, namely, the wearing of the girdle. But I do not think that it is the intention of the text to mark out this contrast. This is evident from verses 11, 12 and 13 of the same Fargard. Ahura-Mazda is here represented as saying that "He who lies the whole night without praising, or without learning, without reciting, without working, without learning, without teaching, desiring to win the soul, he calls himself falsely an Âthrava." Now this is evidently a summary of the first ten verses. The phrases "without reciting, without learning", &c., obviously correspond to 'an-aiwyâsta' in verses 2, 5, 7, and 9 and which is translated by European scholars to mean

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"without being girded according to the law." If we, therefore, accept the interpretation of European scholars we shall have to suppose that the first ten verses of the Fargard lay particular stress on the external form of "being girded according to the law," while the 11th, 12th and 13th verses refer only to the learning or the study of the law. Such a construction is open to the objection that while the Fargard warns us against mistaking a man for a true Âthrava simply from his external marks, it lays a special stress on "being girded according to the law," evidently meaning that the girdle is not a sign to be so mistaken.

In my opinion this is not what the text intends to lay down and that the phrase 'an-aiwyâsta' must be so interpreted as to denote a qualification which can be properly contrasted with, or adequately distinguished from external marks, such as the wearing of the 'paiti-dâna,' or the carrying of a stick, a tree, or a dagger. The word 'an-aiwyâsta' which is equivalent to Sanskrit 'an-abhyasta' must therefore be interpreted to mean "without being learned or versed in the law." The first nine verses of the Fargard would then mean that if a man has not studied the law he is not a true 'Âthrava' though he may carry with him all the external characteristics of a priest; and this would be properly summarised in verses 11, 12 and 13, which say that without reciting, learning, hearing or teaching, a man is not a true 'Âthrava.' In short, hearing, reciting, learning and teaching mentioned in verses 11 and 12 is nothing but an expansion of the meaning of 'aiwyâsta' in verses 2, 5, 7 and 9.

In this connection it is very interesting to note a parallel from Sanskrit books. I have already referred to the verse of Manu in which the word 'abhyasta' and a verbal form of the root 'abhi'+'as' are used to denote the study of the Veda. Two verses after this, Manu thus deprecates the abandonment of the study of the Veda by a Brâhmin: "A Brâhmin, who without studying (*an+adhitya*) the Veda, works in a different *line*, is soon degraded, even

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when alive, with his family to the state of a Shudra." (Manu II, 168). In II, 166, Manu says that "A good Brâhmin practising penance should always study (*abhi+aset*) the Veda only; for the study (*abhyâsa*) of the Veda is said to be the highest penance for a Brâhmin." These verses of Manu are exactly similar to the verses of the Fargard in question. The idea is the same in both, and what is more to the point is that it is expressed very nearly in the same words. An Âthrava who is 'an-aiwyâsta' is similar to a Brâhmin who is 'an-adhita' or 'an-abhyasta' in the Veda. It may be further observed that the 'abhyâsa' or the study of the Veda is said to be of five kinds in a 'smriti' which is quoted under 'Veda-abhyâsa' in Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary. It says that the study of the Veda (*Veda+abhyâsa*) is of five kinds, namely, receiving (learning) the Veda at first, meditating, studying, repeating (reciting) and teaching it to pupils. This exactly corresponds with the phrases hearing, reciting, working, learning and teaching in verses 11 and 12 of the Fargard in question, and is an independent corroboration of the view put forward above, namely, that the phrases in the verses 11 and 12 of the Fargard simply amplify the word 'an-aiwyâsta' occuring in the previous verses of the same Fargard. The etymology, the context, as well as the parallel from Manu therefore fully support the Huzvârish gloss on 'an-aiwyâsta' and it is not only advisable but necessary to interpret the latter word as equivilent to "not learned or versed in the law".

If we accept this meaning in preference to that given by the European scholars it is not difficult to see why the scriptures themselves came to be called 'Avestâ.' 'Aiwyâsta' is a past participle and like its Sanskrit equivalent 'abhyasta' it may be used both in the active and in the passive sense. It would thus mean either "studied" or "what is studied or repeated," and would soon come to mean what is constantly and daily repeated, namely, the scriptures. In

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the Sanskrit literature, the words 'Shruti' and 'Shruta' (both from the root *Shru*, to hear), and 'âmnâya' and 'âmnâta' (from the root *manâ*, to repeat mentally) are freely used to denote the Veda. In other words the Veda is not merely "what is known" but it is also "what is heard or repeated."

'Shruta' is a past participle like 'abhyasta,' and if the Brâhminical scriptures came to be denoted by *shruta* or *shruti*, I see no reason why *aiwyâsta* should not be regarded as doing the same thing with regard to the Pârsî scriptures. The transition from the literal to the special meaning is both natural and easy, and if we accept it in one case, I do not see why we should reject it in the other.

It was no doubt necessary to see if the word 'aiwyâsta' is, as a matter of fact, used to denote the study of the scriptures, and I believe I have shown above that in fargard XVIII it is more reasonable to suppose that it bears this rather than any other signification. If this etymology be accepted 'Avestâ' would mean "that which is studied or repeated" and would thus correspond to the Sanskrit word 'shruta' which literally means "what is heard" but is used to denote the Veda specially. The derivation proposed by me possesses the advantage of deriving the name from a word already occuring in the Vendidâd; while suggestions of other scholars would require us to assume several things for which no textual authority can be cited.

Before concluding, I beg to add that my uncle and preceptor Dastûr Dr. Hoshang in one of his lectures to me interpreted the meaning of the word 'aiwyâsta' as explained above, and my further studies having left no doubt in my mind as to the correctness of this new meaning, I have submitted the foregoing derivation of this important word for the approval of other Avesta scholars.

6th November 1900.

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THE VIRTUES OF A ZOROASTRIAN HOUSEHOLD—

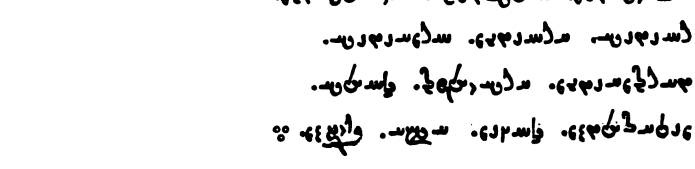
THE AVESTA INTERPRETATION OF SRAOSHA, ASRAOSHA AND ASRUSHTI.

YASNA LX, 5.

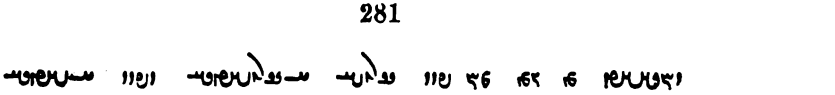
By Shamsh-ul-Ulama Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana B. A.

Among the oldest known religions of the Arians, Zoroastrism alone has exhibited a complete collection of the principles of pure morality, an ethical system embodied with what is practically righteous and excellent for the moral well-being of a family or a community. For the knowledge of the true moral law which conduces to the elevation of the human spirit, it has been recommended by foreign religionists like Dr. Cheyne, that the theological teacher should first send his pupil to no other book than the Avesta. "Morality" says Froude, "rests upon a sense of obligation; and obligation has no meaning except as implying a Divine command, without which it would cease to be." And, accordingly, the virtues of a pious Zoroastrian family rests upon the obligation of obedience or reverence to the Will and Commandments of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta.

The fifth section of the sixtieth chapter of the Yasna comprises the interesting benediction-prayer for the welfare of a faithful Zoroastrian family in the following words :—



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'Vânî-hât min denâ mân pavan srush asrushtîh, va pavan âshtîh anâshtîh, va pavan râtîh arâtîh, va pavan aîrmînishnîh tarmînishnîh, va pavan zak î râst gôbishnîh zak î kadabâ gôbishnîh, va pavan aharâîh drûj.'

(Avesta) "May in this family (*lit.* house) obedience vanquish disobedience; peace vanquish discord; liberality avarice; humility arrogance; a truthful speech an untruthful utterance; the moral order the immoral instinct."

(Pahlavi) "May from this house disobedience be overthrown through obedience, and discord through concord; and avarice through liberality; and arrogance through humility, and false speech through true words; and immorality through the moral law."

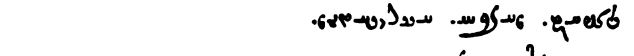
The Avesta text is taken from Yasna LX. The latter is designated in the Avesta under the name of *Dahma-vanguhi-âfritî*, "the good benediction of the pious," and is commonly known as the *Tâo-ahmi-nmânê* or the *Afringân-i-Dahmân*. In this text much interest tacks on the Avesta word  . It is used generally as a proper name and signifies the *Yazata* of divine inspiration or the spiritual personification of obedience to the Divine Will or Order. In the passage before us, the word means more than religious obedience towards God or His Commandments. It denotes, under moral tenets, obedience to authority, whether in a family or in a civil society. The antonyms of *sraosha* are *asraosha* and *asrushti*. The former is used in two passages of the Vendidâd, *viz.*, XVI, 18, and XVII, 11. which help us to ascertain the sense of *asraosha* in the Avesta itself. The Avesta text of these passages state :—

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"All scorners of the Law are *asraosha;*
All *asraosha* are impious people."

The Avesta *asraosha* is again explained, in the Pahlavi rendering of the above passage in the interpretation of the expression *aderetô-tkaêshô* by the commentators:—*aîghash dâtôbar pavan dâtôbar lâ dârênd* "that is, they (or those who) do not regard a judge as a judge." The Pahlavi commentary to Vendidâd I, § 19, says: *aê khûdâi pavan khûdâî lâ yakhsenund*, "that is, they do not regard a sovereign as a sovereign." According to the late M. Darmesteter: *qui ne tiennent pas le souverain pour souverain (khûdâî), vide* Le Zend-Avesta, *Vendidâd*. Hence, I believe that *asraosha*, according to the Avesta, does not generally mean "not obeying or disobedient to the religious commandments" but also "not hearing or obeying the authority of the judge or sovereign." Similarly, Zarathushtra speaks:—(Yasna XXXIII, 4).



"I who with Thy help, O Mazda!
dispraise (or denounce) disobedience,
and disloyalty (*lit.* evil mind)."

The Avesta passage, Yasna LX, 5, does, therefore, teach us in *sraosha* the obedience to all righteous authorities, *i. e.*, to divine, prophetic, kingly, civil and family authorities. Every member of the family of a faithful adherent to Zoroastrianism shall practise it. It is a family virtue which results in peace, generosity, humility, truthfulness and a righteous character.

A point of interest, in the Pahlavi rendering of the Avesta passage of the 60th chap. of the Yasna, is the ex-

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pression 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬁 *vânî-hât*, the Pahlavi interpretation of the Avesta word 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬥𐬌𐬙𐬁, which ascertains the benedictive idea implied in the verb, because, grammatically, '*vainîd*' may be taken as either a subjunctive parasmaipad, third person, singular, or as a benedictive verb. The Pahlavi verbal form might, therefore, be indicated as one of the many instances quoted by the late M. de Harlez, in his *De L'Exégèse et de la Correction des Textes Avestiques*, to prove the excellent help afforded by the Pahlavi version in the exegesis of the Avesta text.

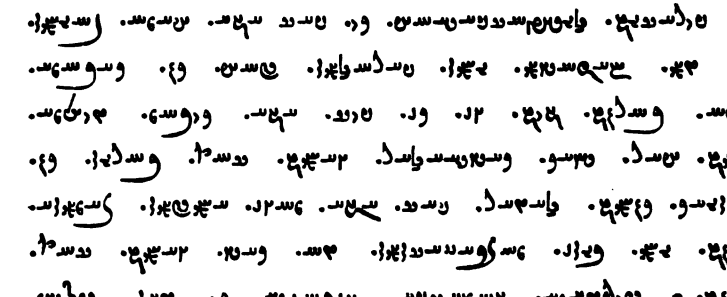
20th November 1900.

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THE YEARS OF THE REIGNS OF THE LATER IRÂNIAN KINGS ACCORDING TO JÂMÂSPI.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A.

The Bundahishn, the Vajarkard-i Dînîk, the Shâh-nâmeh, and several other works give here and there the periods of the reigns of the different kings of ancient Persia. The years of the reigns of those sovereigns, as given by the Jâmâspi, have never been used as yet for comparison. So I give a passage of the Pâzend Jâmâspi which gives these years. I give the passage, as it is, without any attempt to correct it. The Pâzend of the Pâzend Jâmâspi is peculiar and is worth comparing with the Pâzend of other writings. I take the passage from the Pâzend Jâmâspi of Dastur Edalji Meherjirânâ the present Nâyeb Dastur of Navsari.



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The periods of the reign of the different kings as given in the above passage are as follow :—

Names of kings.	Years of their reign.
Bahman of Aspendyâr	112
Chihir Âzât (Queen Homai)	32
Dârâ of Dârâ	13
Araskaindar Rûmî	13
Mulûk Tavâyef up to Ardavân (Their whole period)	282
Bahman Bâbagân, (*i.e.*, Ardeshir Bâbagân)...	13
Shâhpûr of Bahman (Ardeshir)	20
Shâhpûr of Shâhpûr	1
Awarmazda Dud	1—10 months
Bahirâm of Bahirâm	4
Narsha of Bahirâm	9
Shâvâr of Awarmazda	72
Ashâhapûrân	75
Vahirâm of Vahirâm called Kermânshâh ...	11
Yazdkuta Shâhvarân	21—5 months
Vahirâm Yazdkuta called Vahirâm Gour ...	23–10 „
Yazdkut of Vahirâm	18—4 „
Piroz of Yazdakuta	22
Lis, (*i.e.*, Palâs) of Piroz	4
Kavâd Pirozân	1
Jâmâsp	47–7–7 days
Awarmazda of Khusru	12
Khusru Awarmazda	37
Kavâd Khusru Serôi	9
Bahirâm of Kavâd	1—5 months
Yazdakut Shahiryâr	10

The above list is very faulty in many respects, but the passage, both as regards the names of the sovereigns and the years of their reigns, is worth comparing with other works which give the genealogy of the Irânian kings.

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DIFFICULTIES OF DECIPHERING PAHLAVI.

By Ervad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria.

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1. All departments of life, such as religion, politics, letters, science, have periodically undergone revolutionary changes from the dim ages of the past down to these days of progress and research, and great changes in the moral, intellectual and physical state of the various nations inhabiting this globe have been, and will certainly be brought about, in the course of time, through a process of gradual development, by knowledge which unrolls "to our eyes, her ample page rich with the spoils of time."

2. The different languages spoken by man on the surface of the globe are found to be governed by the same laws as those which hold good among the departments of science, art, literature, religion &c. Comparative Philology has ascertained beyond dispute that the languages now current amongst mankind have descended from a common ancestor, having grown together out of the original stock.

3. Linguists have separated all the languages into three great groups or families, *viz.*, Aryan, Turanian, and Semitic, and they have ascertained that various stems and branches have emanated from these principal groups. Besides the term Aryan, the term Indo-European, Indo-Germanic or Eur-Aryan, is also used to denote the group which comprises the non-Semitic languages of Asia and of Europe.

4. The language of the Vedas, the sacred books of the Hindûs from which modern Sanskrit is derived, the sacred language of the Gâthas and the Avesta, the scriptures of the Pârsîs, and many European tongues belong to the Indo-Germanic family of languages.

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5. Most of the modern Indian Prakrit dialects, living as well as dead, such as Pali, Mâghadhi, Bengali, Cutchi, Marâthî, Gujarati, Hindi, and others have sprung from the Vedic Sanskrit, and have become current after gradual and imperceptible changes in the original at periodic intervals; in the same way the dialects of the Aryan Cuneiform, Pahlavi, Dari, Ancient and Modern Persian, Pushtu, Mâzandarâni, and others have grown out of the ancient language of the Gâthas and the Avesta, such dialectic growth being always accompanied by various modifications and certain mutations of sound.

6. Pahlavi, therefore, which sprang from the Iranian Cuneiform of the Achæmenian period and became current since the Arashkân, Ashkanian, or Parthian times, belongs to the Irânian stock of the Aryan family of languages, and as such is a grand-daughter of the Indo-Germanic. The Iranian Cuneiform writing which ceased with the rule of the Achæmenian kings and which has been found engraved on rocks and dilapidated buildings, on vases and tablets, on bricks and cylinders, in a mutilated and fragmentary condition, was a sealed letter to the world for centuries. The bundles of arrows, at first baffling all attempts at their decipherment and taxing the critical skill of palæographers are resuscitated through the laudable efforts of Continental as well as English scholars, who have presented to the world the monuments of their genius. European scholars have also deciphered the Pahlavi writings on sculptures and coins and the results of their laborious and patient efforts have long since been preserved in their works.

7. It may be shown beyond dispute that the Pahlavi language,—which on account of the sacred literature it possesses has come down to us in MSS. written and preserved by the learned priests of the Sassanian times and afterwards by their descendants the modern Pârsîs,—was current, side by side with Dari, from the Parthian rule down to the time of Yazdagard the last king of the Sassanian dynasty. Although it cannot be ascertained when the language ceased to be spoken, yet from

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religious subjects treated of in Pahlavi MSS., written by the learned Dastûrs during 250 to 500 A. Y. we can say without fear of contradiction that Pahlavi was a classical language for nearly 400 years after Yazdagard.

8. From the Dâdistân-î Dînîk we learn that about two centuries and a half after Yazdagard, there were pious and learned priests in the different districts of Irân. The author of this book is Dastûr Mânûshchîhar Gûshndam, who has also written treatises on miscellaneous religious themes and flourished in the third century after Yazdagard. He states in the introduction : "That which you wrote about the way of knowing and understanding the precepts of religion not being open for any one else but for me, was owing to your affection and kind regards for me ; but for the sake of truth with very reasonable regards it would have been proper for you to write even to other Mobads, who with the aid of their skill are more perfect thinkers. For, notwithstanding the perplexing struggle of the Druj, and the grievous calamity and oppression which have happened to the faithful, even now, by the grace of God there are Rats, Magopats, Dastûrs, Dâvars, nay, other observers and leaders of religion in many quarters. Moreover there are in several places still other Mobads and Ervads, who have learnt the Mânthras and studied the commentaries, who have pondered over religious opinions and are versed in religion, and can show the reasons of things, and prefer meritorious deeds, for whom the path of understanding and learning such religious dogmas is open." (Dd. Int. §§ 5-7.)*

9. Some Zoroastrians, possibly laymen, of the time of Mânûshchîhar, the supreme high-priest of Pârs and Kirmân, who flourished in 250 A. Y. (881 A. C.), had asked for the satisfactory solution of certain religious questions. As these questions must have been written in Pahlavi, Dastûr Mânûshchîhar has answered them in the same language, and fortu-

* Here and elsewhere the sections of Dâdistân are quoted according to Dr. West's translation in S.B.E., Vol. XVIII.

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nately for us a collection generally known as Dâdistân-î Dînik of these questions and answers is extant. The existence of this work clearly tends to prove that Pahlavi was a classical language about a thousand years ago. Unfortunately we do not find any trace of the writings of the learned Dastûrs and Mobads alluded to in the passage quoted above, with the solitary exception of those of Zâdsparam, a brother of Mânûshchîhar.

10. After the lapse of a century from this period, *i. e.*, about 350 A. Y., many learned and pious priests seem to have flourished, whose works, though now lost, have been referred to in contemporary writings. That Pahlavi was spoken as well as written in some parts of Irân, or at least was current among the priests of Irân upto 450 A. Y. (1081 A. C.), can be determined from extant Pahlavi works written from about 350 A. Y. to 400 or 450 A. Y.

11. Now that Pahlavi has ceased to be spoken for some 800 years, it is difficult to determine the pronunciation of words of Iranian origin and to comprehend the Semitic element introduced into the language at the time when it was spoken. The pronunciation and transliteration of the Iranian element in Pahlavi, can be best fixed by the help of the language of the Iranian Cuneiform Inscriptions, and Mediæval and Modern Persian,—the former being the mother and the latter the daughters of Pahlavi,—making allowances for changes due to a non-synthetical language being derived from a synthetical. Words of Iranian origin only may, in the commencement, have conduced to the growth of Pahlavi, and the Semitic element must have been gradually introduced in the Parthian and Sâssânian times, as the Iranians mixed with the Semitic communities. And to-day we use the same terms for the two languages Pahlavi and Persian, as were used at the commencement of their growth, although the former received a small supply from the Semitic languages during the Parthian and Sâssânian times, and the latter was overwhelmed

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by an inundation of the Arabic element after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs.

12. The attempts at the decipherment of Pahlavi, especially that of the MSS., are still on a par with those made at reading riddles, if I may be allowed the phrase, on account of the enigmatical character of the language and the various reasons detailed below :—

13. (I) The letters of Pahlavi do not each represent distinct sounds as is the case with the alphabet of the European languages, the alphabet of the Avesta, and the Devanâgari alphabet employed in the Sanskrit and other languages derived from it. The old Pahlavi writers do not seem to have availed themselves of the use of distinguishing the letters by dots or diacritical marks as in Persian or Arabic, wherein too we find some letters having the same forms but different sounds. It is only in later MSS. that we find such distinctive signs and dots placed on the Persian model, above or below letters representing different sounds ; but we also notice therein that innumerable mistakes in deciphering words have been committed by incompetent scribes. Even modern scribes and editors, following in the footsteps of their immediate predecessors, have made confusion worse confounded in making use of these signs indiscriminately. Thus in the attempts at deciphering Pahlavi characters we meet with the same difficulty and ambiguity as are encountered by competent scholars in fixing the reading of Persian written without the distinguishing dots and marks. For instance, the Persian form بر may be read 'bar,' 'bir,' 'bur,' 'par,' 'pir,' 'pur,' 'tar,' tir,' 'tur,' 'sar,' &c., and the form خرم may be read 'charm,' 'jarm,' 'harm,' 'khar-am,' 'khurram,' &c.

14. (II) The task of elucidating the Pahlavi of the MSS., is by no means an easy one on account of mistakes committed by careless and ignorant copyists. We possess some very old Pahlavi MSS. from about 400 to 580 years old, in which are to be found mistakes of various sorts. Some have wrongly

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changed د into ذ, while others mistake it for د or ذ. Three consecutive words are written as two only by some, the first half of the middle word being put in juxtaposition with the first word and the second half taken along with the third. Some have copied two or three words as one, while others have broken up one word into two or three. The last letter or letters of a word are often taken along with the next word, and thus two words quite distinct from the original are formed. Some copyists have omitted words and phrases by mistake, while in some MSS., whole chapters or leaves have been misplaced. *E.g.*

MISUSE OF THE CIRCUMFLEX:— The readings of the Pahlavi words , , , , , , are wrongly fixed by the use of the *circumflex*. In MKh., Pûrs. I, 156, and in the Kârnâmak, وگذ is wrongly written for وگذ (= Pers. کشک) in all the MSS.

MISPLACEMENT OF LETTERS:— In Dd. Int., we find for ; in Bd. (K₁₀) p. 51, ll. 6-7, for (TD has instead, p. 86); and for 'mavan dûgân dîrang'— (TD Bd. pp. 209, 231); for (S.G.V., X, 65; XV, 40, 43).

OMISSION OF WORDS:— In Vd. VIII, 2, (7 Sp.), most of the MSS. omit the phrase in consequence of its being left out in an old copy to which all the modern MSS. probably owe their descent. Again Ib., § 79 (264 Sp.) ML., BU. omit as shown by Dastûr Dârâb, while PB., ED. have distinctly , for which Dastûr Dârâb has . The word, again, is omitted by all MSS. in Vd. IX, 32 (130 Sp). Dastûr Dârâb has inserted it here also in his edition. It appears again in the same form, *i. e.*, as in Vd. XIV, 6, 8.; Ib., XVIII, 141; Y. III, 13; and in Y. XXII, 4, 5; Ib. LXI, 24. In Dd. Pûrs. XLVII, 15, we find 'Min ûrvarân *hadanra*'; the last word is read *âînô* by Dr. West and taken to mean

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"various"; but in § 16 we meet with 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌 the form given in the Vd. MSS., which Dr. West reads 'hadanpad'. Traditionally the word was read 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌.

ONE WORD SPLIT INTO TWO OR MORE WORDS:—In Pahl. Vd. IX, 28 (119 Sp.) Comm., most of the MSS., have 𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀 (Vide Dastûr Dârâb's Ed.). Dastûr Dârâb prefers to have 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 instead. Possibly 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 is one word and must be taken in the sense of Pers. تنک "a little".

In Pahl. Vd. VII, 10 (27 Sp.) Comm., Dastûr Dârâb following ML, Sp. takes 𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 as two separate words; it might be 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 'pashm-âgand' according to PB., or 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 'pashmînak' according to ED., NM. The termination 𐬀𐬌 in ML, Sp. is a shortened form of 𐬀𐬌𐬎, just as in the Kârnâmak we find 𐬀𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬌 , 𐬀𐬌 being equal to Pers. آگنده, آگینه, "stuffing," "embedded with."

On p. 305 of my MS. of a unique text called 'Vijîrîhâ-î Dîn-î Mâzdayasnân,' 𐬀𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 'appûntan' "to cook" is separated into three distinct words 𐬀𐬞 𐬀𐬌 𐬙 'ach pavan tan', which convert sense into nonsense.

In Dk. III, XXIX, we have 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 'Fîlsûkpâîyâ' Dastur Dr. Peshotan reads it 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌; cf. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌, सुवस्तायीका:, "sophistical", in S.G.V., VI, 35.

The Pahl. transcription of 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 or 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 is 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 (cf. 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 which is transcribed 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌). In Sp. and Dastûr Dârâb's text we have 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 in Pahl. Vd. VIII, 107 (308 Sp.), Ib. XIV, 18 (Sp. 75). But cf. Y. XLV, 11.

TWO WORDS READ AS ONE ONLY :—

In TD$_1$ Bd, XXVIII, 13 is as follows:—

𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌

... ... 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌

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The last letter 𐬎 of 𐬌𐬀 being connected with 𐬀 in TD$_1$ and having two dots over it, Dr. West reads it 'môg' meaning "a boot," but TD$_2$ has 𐬌𐬀 and 'min dah' seems to be a better reading. Therefore the sentence might be thus translated :— "This, too, it says : whoso gives something to a man, whoso says that it is proper to have ONE OUT OF TEN (𐬀𐬭𐬵 𐬎 𐬀) *for himself, the sin of* 'avîmôk dûbârishmîh' is committed by him according to law and therefore the fiend Taprêz is propitiated by him."

15. (III) Innumerable mistakes are met with in old MSS. arising out of letters, especially 𐬌 and 𐬭, being omitted from words through the negligence of copyists.

In Pahl. Vd. I, 14 (50 Sp.) Comm., most of the MSS. have 𐬌𐬀𐬱, but as we learn from Dastûr Dârâb's note, BH. and ED. give 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬌 instead. The latter 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬌 seems to be correct from which 𐬌 is omitted. Cf. Pers. گذاردن.

In Dd. Int. § 25, 𐬌𐬀𐬭 is changed into 𐬱𐬀𐬭,— one copyist writing 𐬌𐬀 instead of 𐬌𐬀𐬭 by dropping the initial letter 𐬌, and another changing 𐬌𐬀 into 𐬱𐬀 by inserting the penultimate 𐬱. Similarly 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀 for 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀; 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀 for 𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬭.

In Pahl. Vd. VIII, 22 (64 Sp.) Comm., Sp. has 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌; ML., BU. have 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀; and PB., ED. have 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀. Dastûr Dârâb prefers the last form and reads 'ham-hûsh' = Pers. هم هوشبام. In a unique MS. of the Vendidâd commentary in my possession, I find the word 𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 which is correct. It is a custom among the Pârsîs that the name of a dead person is not recited, *i. e.*, his *nâmgân*, Gujrati *nâmgarnu*, is not taken in the ceremonies for the other departed ones, during the first three days and nights after his death, because his soul, before finally departing for the other world, is supposed to remain hovering over his head during that period. (Cf. Yt. XXIII, 2, 20.)

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In Dd. Pûrs. XVI § 17, some MSS. have 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬌𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬎𐬀 𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬌 : where 𐬀 is either omitted from the proper word 𐬎𐬌𐬀 or added to 𐬎𐬀, and the form 𐬎𐬌 'ash' is left.

In Dd. Int §§ 8, 9 some MSS. have 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 for 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬀 which Dr. West reads 'nishtan' comparing it with Pers. نوشتن = نیشتن ; this shows that the word had been corrupted long ago.

'Âhan' for 𐬀𐬌𐬀 'vahân' in Dd. Pûrs. XVI § 1.

In Pahl. Vd. VIII, 10 (28 Sp.) Comm., we have

... ... 𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬉 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬉 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬎𐬀 ;

Dastûr Dârâb reads 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌𐬎𐬀 'nîm-aê-khûftê', or 'va damîh aôftêh' = Khun aôftê. ML., BU., Sp. have 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬌 𐬎𐬀; ED., RB. 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬀 ; and PB. has 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬎𐬀 . Here, I think, the first letter 𐬀 to have dropped out of 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 'nihûftak,' and translate: "It shall not be carried entirely uncovered (a-*ni*hûftak), it shall not be carried half covered (*ni*hûftak)." As the proper sense is "not to carry entirely naked" (a-nihûftak) or "in a semi-naked state" (nîm-ê nihûftak), 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 as found in ED., RB. and PB. is correct. Moreover compare the following sentence found in my MS. of the Vd. commentary alluded to above.

∴ 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬍 𐬎𐬀𐬐 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬀 *𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬍 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬍𐬀
𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬎𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 𐬐 𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀 𐬎𐬀 𐬐 𐬐𐬎𐬀 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬎𐬀 𐬉 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬐𐬎𐬀 (pp. 300, 302.) ∴ 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬉 𐬎𐬀𐬎

Here also we find 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 and 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 just as in ML, BU, Sp., but the presence of 𐬐𐬎𐬀𐬎 and 𐬐𐬎𐬀 justifies our meaning in support of which I may quote the same MS. which says, 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬉 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 : "*the dead body of* a dog may be carried even naked."

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* Better 𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎 .

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In Pahl. Vd. VII, 9 (25 Sp.), ML., BU., Sp. give 𐬵𐬀𐬎 for 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 = 𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌; again Ib. 19 (47 Sp.), the same MSS. give 𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬎 for 𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌. In the last case, the initial 𐬌 as well as the termination of the present tense are omitted by the copyists.

In Pahl. Vd. III, 29, we have 𐬯𐬁𐬎 𐬀𐬌𐬌 for Av. 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌. We also find the word 𐬀𐬌𐬌 in Pahl. Vd. V, 59 (164 Sp.) Comm. and Ib. VII, 19 (45 Sp.) in the phrase 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌; and in Vd. VI, 28 (61 Sp.) we have 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌 𐬀𐬌𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬎 as the Pahl. version of 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌. In these places 𐬀𐬌𐬌 is a corrupt form of 𐬀𐬌𐬌 'nastak' or 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬌 'vanastak'. Cf. 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬁 'a-vanastak,' (traditional 'hunaste') for Av. 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌, and Pâz. 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌, Sans. अनाविल, S.G.V., V, 5.

16. (iv) A great confusion in identifying characters is occasioned by Indian copyists writing 𐬱 for 'sh.' In all Iranian MSS. we find the form 𐬱 for 'sh,' distinct from 𐬱 which can be read in many ways. Hence when 𐬱 and its compounds occur in a text, the translators sometimes read 'ih,' 'dah,' 'gah,' '*gh*ah,' &c., for 'sh', and *vice versa*, and translate accordingly; e.g.,

𐬯𐬌𐬌 'Yazdân' for 𐬯𐬌𐬌 'shân' and *vice versa* in Dd. Int. §§ 7, 8, 13; 'shinvishnô dahak' for 𐬱𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌, 'gâûshô-dâk', Av. 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌. (Dd. Fûrs. XLVII, 16.)

In Dd. IV, 5 𐬵𐬌𐬌𐬌 'shnôhar' (Av. 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌) is read 'gânvâr.'

The phrase 𐬌𐬌𐬌𐬌 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬌 'va shurmak dânishnân' "and accurate recognisers" is read 'Veh ramak...' (Dd. Int. § 24). 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬌 is read 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌 by Neriosang in S.G.V., X, 79, although it is used along with the word 𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌. He merely transcribes these two words in Sanskrit as वारीकै: दारमीयै:

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but Ib. VIII, 137, and X, 3, the word 𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬌𐬨𐬀 although wrongly read is translated correctly by सूक्ष्मतया; cf. Pers. سرمه.

17. (v) Mistakes are often committed when words admit of more than one identification and their orthography is often corrupted by reading them wrongly.

In the Zend.-Pahl. Glos., p. 20, the word 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 has its proper Pahlavi equivalent 𐭧𐭩𐭪 turned into 𐭧𐭩𐭫 by some copyists. Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji reads the latter 'khâk', taking it to mean 'dust,' 'earth.' Dr. Haug gives a note on the word, supposing it to have been read 𐭧𐭩𐭲 by Dastûr Hoshangji (p. 60, n. 1). But 𐭧𐭩𐭫 can not be read 'khâk,' which ought to be written 𐭧𐭩𐭪. The Pahlavi version of the Avesta 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 is 𐭧𐭩𐭪 in Y. XXIX, 11, and 𐭧𐭩𐭱𐭥 that of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌 everywhere, and 𐭧𐭩𐭱𐭥𐭩 that of 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬉 in Y. L, 1 (Sp. XLIX, 1).

In the Zend.-Pahl. Glos. p. 1, we find 𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭪 for 𐭧𐭩𐭫𐭫; 𐭧𐭩𐭲 for 𐭧𐭩𐭲𐭪 'khafrâ.'

18. (vi) Words admitting of different readings can sometimes have different meanings attached to them so that the meaning of a a word or a phrase, not read in the way it ought to be done, does not suit the sense of the context.

In Bd. Windischmann and Justi correctly translate 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬴𐬌 'hâmêst,' or 'hâmîst,' superlative of 𐭧𐭪, by "all"; its Semitic synonym is 𐭧𐭪𐭲 or 𐭧𐭪𐭲𐭩. As the word admits of another reading 'hamdast,' Dr. West takes it to mean "confederates". We find 𐭧𐭪𐭲 substituted in the TD Bd. for 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬴𐬌 in K₁₀ p. 8, l. 7; p. 9, l. 13; p. 11, l. 14. This shows that 𐭧𐭪𐭲 and 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬴𐬌 are synonyms and must have the same meaning. The Pâzand version of Bd. gives 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬉𐬴𐬌 for 𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬴𐬌; this is probably on the supposition

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that [Pahlavi] is derived from the Sem. inf. [Pahlavi]; or perhaps [Pahlavi] is a misreading of [Pahlavi]. Cf. also Pâz., [Pahlavi] in S.G.V., IV, 76, 89. We do not come across this word in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos., the texts of Virâf, Bd. K₂₀, and Pand Nâma of Âdarbâd; but in the last we find [Pahlavi], where I propose to substitute [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi]. In Dd. *passim* Dr. West takes [Pahlavi] to mean "former," "original," "primeval," "primitive", but it means "all" being a synonym of [Pahlavi] (= [Pahlavi] Pâz. [Pahlavi]); cf. :—

[Pahlavi]

[Pahlavi]

In the Zend-Pahl. Glos. p. 16, we meet with [Pahlavi], the Pahlavi version of which is [Pahlavi]. Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji reads 'zivânand' for [Pahlavi] and translates the phrase : "may they live long." Dr. Haug refers us to the word [Pahlavi] of Y. XLVI, 5, whose Pahlavi is [Pahlavi] (p. 56), although he does not state that it is to be read 'zînâvand'. The same Pahlavi word is used as the version of [Pahlavi] in Vd. XIII, 39 (106 Sp.). Here we have the sentence [Pahlavi], where [Pahlavi] is a corrupt form of [Pahlavi] 'andak.' [Pahlavi] according to ML., BU., Sp. is the Pahlavi version of [Pahlavi] in Vd. VIII, 107 (311 Sp.) Dastûr Dârâb has [Pahlavi]. The Pahlavi translator's gloss is [Pahlavi] and therefore he must have certainly read it 'zînâvandtûm.' This form [Pahlavi] must be traced back to Avesta [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi] in Vd. XIII, 39, 46.

In K₂₀ Bd. we have

[Pahlavi]

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But in TD Bd. the sentence is

[Pahlavi]...

Dr. West's rendering of the last three words is "and may wander about without self-exertion" (S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 51.) The text of K_{20} being corrupt, Dr. West may perhaps have referred himself to the phrase [Pahlavi] in Vd. XIII, 39 while translating [Pahlavi]. But instead of [Pahlavi] TD has [Pahlavi] 'akhv*â*b'. Thus the first two words 'akhv*â*b' and 'tûkhshâk' are well known and do not admit of a wrong interpretation ; but what about [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi]? Justi reads it ويراک and compares it to Pers. ويرا "one who remembers," "a learner"; Dr. West's version is "may wander about." I suggest the reading 'vidrât', and comparing it to Pers. بيدار take it to mean "awaking," "wakeful," "active." Cf. Sans. निद्रा, उन्निद्र, विनिद्र (द्र is changed to द्रा and दार्). The word [Pahlavi] is also met with in an outline of Yt. XXI given in a Pahlavi Rivâyat preceding the Dâdistân. It also occurs in Mânûshchîhar's Epistle III, 12 in the phrase [Pahlavi]. Here Dr. West reads it 'vîrakht' meaning "evaded," but it ought to be compounded with the following word, and read 'vidrât-hûshîh' = Pers. بيدار هوشي "wakeful intelligence." Ib. § 16 Dr. West translates it by "rescued" and compares it to Pers. گريختن (S. B. E., Vol. XVIII., pp. 290-91). The word may be traced to Avesta [Avesta], Sans. गृ, गा, जागृ (cf. Av. [Avesta] = Sk. जाग्रौ and [Avesta]) and hence another possible reading is 'vigrât.' But as seen above it can be read 'vidrât' and compared with Pers. بيدار, deriving it from Sans. द्रा, "to sleep." Cf. [Avesta] = [Pahlavi] — Vd. XVIII, 16, (39 Sp.); and [Avesta] in Yt.

* In three different places in TD Bd. the word [Pahlavi], Pers. خواب is met with. In Y. XLIV, 5, the Pahlavi version of [Avesta] is [Pahlavi].

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XXIV, 41. In Yt. XXI, 𐬯𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵 is translated by 𐬯𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬵 (A.V., p. 276), where Dr. Haug reads it 'vîrâyishnîh' instead of 'vidrâdishnîh.'

𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵, a translation of 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 in Vd. XIII, 39, which is quoted above, and 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 seem to be connected with जाप्. Again in Khûrshîd Nyâîsh, 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 'jikâr' or 'jigâr' is the Pahlavi version of the Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵.

In the Zend.-Pahl. Glos. p. 24 Av. 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 is translated by Pahl. 𐬯𐬀𐬵 which is read 'âzâr' and taken to mean 'disease,' 'pain,' 'hurt.' (p. 64); it ought to be read 'apâr', "far away."

In Dd. Int. § 27 Dr. West reads 'nîhâd bûrzishnîk' for 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵, 'va shât bûrzishnîk.'

'Nizôrîh' "collapse" for 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵, 'va zûrîh'; cf Pers. زور "oppression."

In Dd. Int. § 10 ...𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 may be read 'at daen danman zamânak vashtan (گشتن) hûzamân shnâkhtak va âshnâk'; West reads 'at baen denman zamânakŏ shatrŏân zamân shanâkhtak va nâyânâkŏ'.

In Dd. Int. § 17, Dr. West reads 'dêshîgân' for 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 'shâîkân' or 'shâîgân' and takes it to mean "country folks," but we never come across the word 'dêsh' (Sk. देश) in the sense of "country" in Pahlavi. Moreover in B Yt. II, 32 we have 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 'dushârm pûnsakîk' which Dr. West reads '...pavan desak', "affection for country." Cf. 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 = Pers. شایگان in Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. pp., 2, 213.

In Dd. Int. § 17, for 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 𐬯𐬀𐬵, 'va spûzishnîh' Dr. West reads 'va sêj vazôshnîh.'

In Dd. Pûrs. XVI § 11 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌𐬵 is read 'khûrshît' but it ought to be read 'khurîhêt'.

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The word [Pahlavi] is read 'hûbakhtak' everywhere. But it rarely occurs in this sense. It is frequently used for Pers. نوادة and ought to be read 'anbâtak'. We have [Pahlavi] in S. G. V., XIV, 7 which Neriosang translates by 'सप्तत्वैयत्यम्'; Dr. West takes it to mean "sevenfold." The correct rendering would be "children and grand-children upto the seventh generation." Cf. [Pahlavi] in Vd. XIII, 3. Cf. [Pahlavi] of the Kârnâmak, which is هفتواد in Shâhnâma. واد = نواد = نوادة = [Pahlavi], "a grandson." Mod. Pers. نواسا is met with in the same sense. See [Pahlavi] in Dd. Pûrs. XXXVI, 83, where West takes it to mean "fortunate"; [Pahlavi] in B. Yt. III, 2, where it is taken to mean "favoured ones". Cf. also Dd. Pûrs. I, 10.

19. (VII) Faulty translations are often given owing to translators not understanding the colloquialities and idioms of this ancient language.

In the Zend-Pahl. Glos. p. 21 the Av. [Avestan] has the gloss [Pahlavi] "it is thus current" appended to it. As the glossarist considered the word to be well-known in his time, he did not think it necessary to translate it but made the passing remark denoting that his interpretation was not called for. The same sort of remarks about well-known words are to be met with in Persian dictionaries. (See Dastûr Hoshangji's trans. and Haug's note, p. 62).

In the Kârnâmak, we have

[Pahlavi]

Dastûr Dârâb reads 'asvabârîd' for [Pahlavi] and takes it to mean 'would ride' but it is the same as Pers. يارد from the inf. يارستن "to dare". Cf. S.G.V., [Pahlavi] (Ch. XI, 18); [Pahlavi] (Ibid. § 19); and [Pahlavi]

(Ch. XIV, 78). Dr. West takes all the three underlined words to mean "assists." But the first and the third are derived from the auxiliary of the Pot. Mood = "to dare."

20. (VIII) It cannot be clearly ascertained whether the ancient Pahlavi writers made use of stops or punctuations in their MSS. From the system adopted by Persian writers, it seems that no such marks were used; or if at all used, the system might have originated with more recent writers; moreover if the ancient manuscript writers did use any signs or diacritical marks in the proper places, their ignorant and careless copyists seem to have done away with or misplaced them. Such being the case, the editors and translators of Pahlavi texts have to settle the punctuations themselves. And the adjustment of sentences in this manner sometimes gives rise to ideas the most foreign to the minds of the authors. We could decipher Pahlavi to-day with great facility had the original writers been guided by some such rule as that of beginning a new sentence with a capital letter as in the European languages, or putting a stop at the end of a sentence as in Sanskrit.

21. (IX) Words which have the same form and sound are sometimes distinct in origin and meaning, therefore the interpretations put upon such words should be such as would suit the context :—*e. g.*,

= (Pers. كمان) and = (Pers. قام دان = نويدان). In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos., pp. 122, 140, 166, the latter is compared with Pers. نويه "good news."

In the Zend.-Pahl. Glos. p. 24, the Av. has for its Pahl. equivalent , where is supposed to mean "father." I think that there it means "carcase", "impure matter" as in Dd. Purs. XVI, 17. Moreover cf. (Y. IX, 36), where is the Pahlavi version of "food."

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22. (XI) Mistakes committed by a copyist mislead those who follow him :—*e. g.*,

In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos., pp. 16, 118 𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭬 'gabrûntan' stands as the synonym of 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭬 Pers. گریستن "to weep"; but in three Iranian MSS. the two words 𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭬 and 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭬 are found as Sem. synonyms of 𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭬, Pers. بردن. Cf. 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭬 and 𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭬, Dk. III, VIII, and XVIII.

On p. 15 of the same glossary, 𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 is taken along with 𐭱𐭥𐭣𐭲𐭬 as its equivalent; but in the Zend-Pahl. Glos. p. 25 we find Av. 𐬯𐬌𐬱𐬌 (= Sans. शेते) for 𐭱𐭥𐭣𐭲𐭬. In Iranian MSS. of the Glos. 𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 is the Pâz. synonym of 𐭱𐭥𐭣𐭲𐭬 and 𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 that of 𐭱𐭥𐭣𐭲𐭬. 𐭱𐭥𐭣𐭲𐭬 is used in the sense of "to lie down," "to remain" for the Av. 𐬯𐬌𐬱 "to lie," in the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta. See Dr. Haug's note on the word in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. p. 210.

In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. p. 17 𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭬 stands as a synonym of 𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭬 with the following comment appended to it:— 𐭣𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭣𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬. In Iranian copies this comment stands thus: — 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭲𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭬: "Just as the Hûzvârish has 'yaktîbûntan' *i.e.*, 'napishtan' for 'the art of writing". Some old copyists read 'nabrûntan for 𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭬; one Ir. MS. reads it 𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭬. It may mean "to pass away," "to die," being a synonym of 𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭬 Pâz. 𐭣𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭬. But the comment appended as explanation leads us to ascribe the meaning "to copy," "to translate." Cf. Sk. अव+तॄ, अवतारितम् (S.G.V., p. 1). Cf. also Arab. عبر, نقل, نقل کردن, meaning "to cross," "to die," and also "to copy," "to translate." Dr. Haug remarks "this passage is an explanatory note which has crept from the margin into the text itself"; but we find similar passages in the glossary quoted by way of

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comparison, which are quite appropriate in their respective places: *e.g.*, with the words ꞏꞏꞏ = ꞏꞏꞏ (Ir. MSS. have ꞏꞏꞏ = ꞏꞏꞏ) names of different measures such as —, —, are given; with ꞏꞏꞏ=ꞏꞏꞏ, we find the words —, —, —; thus the meanings of ꞏꞏꞏ and ꞏꞏꞏ are at once fixed and determined by analogy.

In Pahl. Vd. VII, 31 (81-82 Sp.) Comm., in , and is changed into . Cf. and in Vd. IX, 32 (130 Sp.) Comm.; according to Sp, ML, BU. in Pahlavi Vd. VIII, 10 (28 Sp.) Comm., is the correct form; Dastur Dârâb reads it according to PB.

is the heading of TD Bd. Ch. XXXIII; is substituted for in K$_{20}$ Ch. XXV; is the proper word, as appears from the subject discussed in the chapter.

In Dastur Dr. Peshotan's text of the Pandnâma of Âdarbâd §§ 5, 6 we have:— , Dastûr Peshotan takes to mean "eligible", "suitable." Ervad Sheriarji has instead of and changes into "reputable", "that which raises one's dignity in both the worlds". But as appears from the old codex MK, and are added by recent copyists. The original text as found in MK may mean: "Forget what is past". The context upholds this meaning, as in the following sentence it is said "Do not bear sorrow *or* grief for what you have not come by". is the past participle of , "to pass away" derived from Av. with . Cf. in Vd. VIII, 9, (21 Sp.) where has for its Pahlavi equivalent . The word is

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used in the same sense in four different places in S. G. V., in Ch. IV. § 4, ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 = अवयासति; Ib., § 5, ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 = व्ययति; XI, 171, ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 = प्रभवति; Ib. § 322, ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 = विलीना. In MKh. we find 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 Pâz. 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 three times in the sense of "spending", "expenditure". In Pahlavi Vd. VI, 5 (9 Sp.) Comm., the word 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 'ûzishn,' the verbal noun of 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱, occurs in the sentence 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 "The ground shall not be dug until the length of a year passes away."

23 (XI). As it is difficult to determine by etymological analysis the true value of words corrupted long since, they have been wrongly deciphered.

In the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. p. 21, we have the word 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 having for its synonym 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 'dât-mas'. In one copy it is written 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱. The word is a corruption of 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 'mas-dât-tar'. It occurs in the Pandnâma of Âdarbâd where it is written 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 by all the copyists. Ervad Sheriarji changes it to 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 taking it to mean 'needy,' 'poor'. Dastûr Peshotan accepts the meaning, reading ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 without changing the word; but in Dk. III, xxx, 2, 𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 occurs thrice where he reads it ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 "of advanced age", which meaning is correct. In S. G. V. XIV, 40, ·𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬱 which Neriosang simply transcribes as मेहादर, is the Pâz. form of the word. See S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, p. 225, n. 2.

24 (XII). Such Pahlavi words as are connected with obsolete Persian words are sometimes difficult to read on account of a limited knowledge of the latter language :—*e. g.*,

𐬀𐬌𐬙 in the Kârnâmak—Dastûr Dârâb reads it 'nashk ôl', Pers. نشک "pomegranate", (text p. 36; trans. p. 32). I propose to read it 'vashkal' cf. Persian وشکله "grapes," (ed. Antia p. 34). According to the Anjuman-ârâ-i Nâserî,

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Burhân-i Kâta and Haft Kulzum نشک means درخت صنوبر "the cypress"; according to the Farhang-i Jehângîrî it is درخت ناژ "the cypress".

𐭬𐭮𐭣 is until now read 'Mâdîg' "Median"; I propose to read it 'Mâsik' "an inhabitant of Mount Masius" (Kârnâmak pp. 23, 24.)

In Andarz-î Khusro-î Kavâtân § 2 𐭮𐭭𐭩𐭫 is read 𐭠𐭮𐭯𐭠𐭭𐭠𐭩 by Dastûr Peshotan. I think it is the same as Pers. اصپانبر, a town founded by Noshîravân the Just.

25 (XIII). Words of Iranian origin, even in common use have been read wrongly from very ancient times, thus making it almost impossible to determine them by etymology if they be not traced to some words in cognate languages.

The word 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭 has been read 'tanâvanâr' or 'tanâvanâl' from a very long time by traditional scholars (see Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. p. 217.). The word 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭 is written differently as 𐭲𐭭𐭥, 𐭲𐭭𐭥, 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭, 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭, 𐭲𐭭𐭥𐭥, &c., and is transcribed 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭 by Neriosang. In the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, another form 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭪, sometimes corrupted into 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭪, is met with: cf. Y. XLVI, 10-11; LI, 13-14.

In S.G.V., X, 67 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭 (=𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭-𐭩𐭫𐭠𐭭) and 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭= Pers. زرین (𐭦𐭫𐭭𐭠𐭥) are read 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭 and 𐭲𐭭𐭠𐭥𐭭 by Neriosang.

26 (XIV). On account of the curious mode of reading Pahlavi adopted by the old copyists, which is in vogue upto the present day in the traditional school, *i. e.*, treating the Semitic words only as logograms and reading the Aryan forms instead, Semitic words are sometimes erroneously substituted for their Aryan synonyms and *vice versa*, thus causing confusion in the decipherment of hybrid words formed by such misplacement. *E. g.*,

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for ; for 'vakhdûntan' ( ); for "work" or "cultivation"; for ; for , "stone"; for 'hûnar,' mistaking it for 'âvûr' (Pers. آوردن)—Dk. III, CLXXVI, § 2; (Dastûr Peshotan has); for 'bast-vângîh' Dk. III, CLXXXVIII, 3; a curious hybrid form for = (MKh. Pûrs. XXXV, 27); for , the Aryan word for being , is converted to ; for Bd. K$_{20}$, p. 13, l. 6; for Ib., p. 16, l. 7; for Ib., p. 13, ll. 10, 12.

In (Kârnâmak ed. Dârâb, p. 23.) the Semitic synonym of (Av.) "glory" is wrongly placed for (Av.) "work," "cultivation." See the phrase in MKh. Pûrs. XXX § 11, and in Bd. K$_{20}$, p. 24, l. 4; or it must have been or in the original copy (see Bd. K$_{20}$, p. 64, ll. 17, 19) from which seems to have been omitted by the copyist (See S.B.E., Vol. V, pp. 101, 102.)

We also find the last letter of some Aryan words unnecessarily added to their Semitic equivalents; *e. g.*, , (for Vd. V, 14), , .

Sometimes the Aryan words or parts of words are joined to their Semitic logograms so as to form curious compounds, *e. g.*, , ; instead of = ; for .

27 (XV) Names of certain subjects and sub-divisions of Avestic writings as well as whole Avestic phrases are entirely transcribed in Pahlavi characters; this gives great trouble to the decipherers. *E. g.*,

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The names of the divisions and chapters of the Yasna given in the Dînkard, book IX. — (for); (for); (for); (for); &c.

( ); 'atâhûvêryôk'; or ; ; ; ; ( ); — Pahl. Vd. VIII, 81 (251 Sp.); in Pahl. Y. IX, 3, comm., ( ).

Cf. also the Pahlavi transcripts of the names of the twenty-one Nasks, which are not correctly deciphered in the Persian Rivâyats and by the modern scholars.

28. (XVI) Copyists who flourished some 500 or 600 years ago have transcribed in Pâzand some words and phrases in order to facilitate their reading for future learners, but their erroneous transcriptions have actually beset their path with immense difficulties. *E. g.* :—

See the list of lunar mansions in Bd. K$_{20}$, p. 6.

The names of the chieftains of the different Keshvars—given in Bd. K$_{20}$, p. 68. See S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 115.

For , one scribe has written while another has — Dd. Pûrs. LXXXIX § 3.

— Bd. K$_{20}$ p. 79; 'Nodargâ and 'Hidainish' are the names of the two brothers of Zarathushtra; as we see from Zd. XV, 5 they are named and ; and can be easily reconciled with each other. But we have to twist , otherwise written , before assimilat-

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ing it with 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌. I think 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎 to be a corruption of 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎 'Vohûdînîh', whose Pâz. form would be 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌. See S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, p. 144, n. 1.

29. (XVII) Orthographical mistakes are to be met with in several MSS. copied by ignorant or ambitious scribes, who either insert their own emendations or make omissions with a view to correct words which they suppose to be incorrectly written by their predecessors. In such cases, the students of Pahlavi are at a loss to settle many orthographical and grammatical difficulties they encounter. Fortunately, modern editors give variants and collations of texts so that students have an opportunity to determine the correct reading. That innumerable variants of certain words are found, can be seen from texts recently published, such as Virâf Nâma, Pâz-Sans. Mînôkhirad, Pâz-Sans. Shikand Gûmânîk-Vajâr, Dastûr Peshotan's Dînkard, Dastûr Dârâb's Pahlavi Vendidâd, the three editions of the Kârnâmak, and Dastûr Jâmâspji's Ayîbâtkâr.

Of the three forms 𐬛𐬀𐬱, 𐬛𐬀𐬱𐬌 and 𐬛𐬀𐬱, the first two are found in Ir. MSS. and the last in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. The pronunciation of these three given in Avesta characters being the same, and the Pers. equivalent being بسد, the form 𐬛𐬀𐬱 appears to be correct.

In Dd. Int. § 2, TD has 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌; J_1 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌; J_2, H, BK have 𐬬𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌. Dr. West reads 'Vazôrg awartanû masîh'; it may also be read 'vazôrg-awartûmîhâ.'

In Vd. VII, 25 (65 Sp.), 𐬬𐬀𐬱𐬎 'gûhîh' is changed into 𐬬𐬀𐬱𐬎 by some MSS.; Dastûr Dârâb suggests 𐬬𐬀𐬱𐬎.

In Pahl. Vd. VII, 52 (136 Sp.) Comm., we have 𐬛𐬀𐬱 𐬎 in some MSS. In Sp. we find 𐬎 for 𐬎. Sp. is correct as it is an allusion to Jam being killed by Zahâk and Spityur. Cf. Yt. XIX, 46 and the following sentence from Bd. K₂₀, p. 77:— 𐬛𐬀𐬱 𐬎 𐬬𐬀𐬱𐬎 𐬛𐬀𐬱 𐬎 𐬬𐬀𐬱𐬎.

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In Dk. III, XII, we again find the same mistake 𐬞 for 𐬟.

In Dd. Int. § 5, instead of 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬰𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭 𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭 'nikîrishn dâtîhâtar' H, J_1, J_2 have 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬜𐬌𐬰𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭 𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬭; Dr. West also reads 'nigîrishnîhâtar.'

In Dd. Int. § 24, all Indian MSS. have 𐬐𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬑𐬌𐬵 which Dr. West reads 'patikhûîh'; the Ir. copy has 𐬐𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬵 'patîshnîh' or 'pat-sakhunîh.'

In. Dd. Int. § 25, instead of 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭 'nihânînîtârîh' TD has 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭; K_{35} 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭. Dr. West reads 'nasânînîdârîh and takes it to mean "fiend destroying power".

In Pahl. Vd. VII, 31 (82 Sp.), Sp. has 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬢, for which ML, BU, PB, and my MS. of Vd. commentary (p. 284) have 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬢. Dastûr Dârâb prefers to have 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢 same as Pers. مهره بازي 'a dice.' In the Zend.-Pahl. Glos. p. 25, we have 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢 𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬵 • 𐬦𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬢 (or according to DJ. 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢). Dastûr Dr. Hoshangji reads 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢 as 'garajdaman' "belly"; but if we regard it as a corrupt form of 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙 it may be the name of a jewel; and 𐬦𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬢 may be compared with Pers. مرجان "a small pearl", "coral". Similarly 𐬦𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢 (=𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢) may perhaps be a kind of jewel. Cf. Pers. مرواريد with 𐬦𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢; and Pers. زاج and زاگ with 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢 or 𐬠𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙.

In Dd. Purs. XXXVI, 105, two MSS. have 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬭, a third has 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙; TD has 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬌𐬭. West prefers 𐬦𐬀𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙 reading it 'galdârîh' "devouring." It can appropriately be read 'jûftârîh'; cf. Pers. جفتن 'to turn the mind'.

In the Pandnâma of Âdarbâd, edited by Ervad Sheriarji and the late Dastûr Dr. Peshotan we have 𐬀𐬐𐬌 𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬵 𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭 𐬵𐬌 𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙. Instead of 𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬯𐬌𐬵𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭 we have 𐬀𐬐𐬌𐬱𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬭 'apî-shnôhar' in MK, which is correct, being a derivative of Av.

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meaning "dissatisfied." "discontented," Cf. 'abûrt-shnôhar'.—Dd. Pûrs. IV, 5.

In Pahl. Vd. V, 52 (151 Sp.) and VII, 67 (166 Sp.), is the Pahlavi word for Av. As we learn from Dastûr Dârâb's note, NM reads it 'âdêhîâd' "may be given". Dastûr Dârâb prefers to read it 'vakhshdâd' "boiled". I propose to read it 'adâsht' "not kept", hence "not rancid", "fresh". In Vd. XIX, 40 (136 Sp.), the same word occurs for Av. , for which, in Dastûr Dârâb's text, we have .

In Pahl. Vd. V, 9 (33 Sp.) Comm., PB has for Sp. ; ML, BU have . I take 'sipûkhtan', as given in PB, to be the correct form.

In Dastûr Dr. Peshotan's text of the Pand-Nâma of Âdarbâd § 143 we have :—

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In Ervad Sheriarji's text § 141 the sentence runs thus :—

.

In Dastûr Dr. Jamaspji's old codex MK the sentence stands thus : —

It will be seen that in Dastûr Peshotan's text is corrupted from = ۶ by some copyist. In the same manner is corrupted to . Ervad Sheriarji changes to and suggests the omission of . Moreover both the learned editors take to be the same as , Pers. ستبر. I propose to translate the passage thus :—"The beast of burden has come, it will not go without *its* load ; fate has come, one cannot hide *oneself* ; Cf. 'Aogemadechâ' § 104 (S. B. E., Vol. IV., 2nd Edition, p. 385):

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In MKh. K$_{43}$, p. 1, 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀 is incorrectly turned into 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌 and the name of the book, 𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀 is changed into 𐬌𐬱𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬌 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌*. In MKh. Pûrs. VI §§ 27-30, Neriosang seems to have read 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬀 instead of 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌 and translated it by ज्ञानिन्.

In Ir. Bd., we find 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌 for 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌 in K$_{20}$. Sometimes 𐬠𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬀 is written for 𐬠𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌.

In Pahl. Vd. VI, 29 (Sp. 64), ML., BU., SP. have 𐬠𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 changed into 𐬠𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 by some scribes. In my MS. of the Vendîdâd commentary 𐬠𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 or 𐬠𐬀𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 and its Aryan synonym 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌, "to throw," "to dart an arrow", are used in the same context. In the Zend-Pahl. Glos. 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 is the Pahlavi rendering of Av. 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌. Here 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 is the agentive noun from 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌, meaning "one who throws". See the Zend-Pahl. Glos. pp. 20, 60. In Dd. Pûrs. XXXVI the same word is found in the sense of 'to dart an arrow.'

In the Zend-Pahl. Glos. p. 6, 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 has for its Pahlavi equivalent 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 which Dastûr Hoshangji translates by "splendid, spacious as Nîsâ (Nîshâpur)". The same word occurs in Pahl. Vd. I, 21 (81 Sp.), where ML., BU., Sp., have 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 and NM 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌. Dastûr Dârâb suggests 𐬠𐬀𐬱𐬌 'vakhshâk.'

In Pahl. Vd. II, 1 (3 Sp.), 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌 is the rendering of the Av. 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌; instead of 𐬞𐬀𐬱𐬌 four MSS., ML, BU, Sp., and NM, have the incorrect form 𐬞𐬀.

In Pahl. Vd. VIII, 41 (133 Sp.) Comm., we have 𐬞𐬀 for Pers. لب "lip." In Pahl. Vd. IX, 16 (50 Sp.), it is written 𐬞𐬀. Dastûr Dârâb reads it 'rúkhù' "the face," "the cheeks."

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* See Westergaard, Av. text, preface p. 2n

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In Dd. Pûrs. XXX, 4 we have [illegible] which Dr. West reads 'rukhô vardinô' "a crown and coronet." Again in Virâf Ch. XII, 16 and XIV, 9, [illegible] is read 'rânŏ vardînŏ' "trowsers" or, 'rûkhŏ va vardînŏ' "coronets and crowns." Thus a word having the same orthography is read in two ways with two different significations :— 1) [illegible] 'lahav' "lip," 2) [illegible] 'rân' "thigh." The word is written [illegible] in S.G.V., XIV, 10.

The forms [illegible] or [illegible] in Vd. VIII, 41 (132 Sp.) may be read 'pahâkân' or 'pasâkân.' Dastûr Dârâb, gives [illegible] 'pîshakân,' which can be read 'pasâkân' from Av. [illegible] = Sans. पश् "to bind," "to join;" hence [illegible] 'pasâk' "that which binds or joins together," *i. e.* "joint," "limb." Cf. the following from Vd. IV, 51 (146 Sp.) :—

[illegible]

with its Pahl. version :— ...... [illegible]

The change of [illegible] into [illegible] can be easily accounted for: cf. [illegible] and [illegible]; [illegible] and [illegible].

30 The examples given above illustrate the difficulties to be encountered in reading the Pahlavi writings. They can be ascribed to the ignorance and carelessness of the scribes who copied after Pahlavi became a dead language. Even the accomplished scholar, Mobad Neriosang Dhaval, who flourished from about 600 to 700 years ago, found it hard to decipher Pahlavi writings as will be seen from his misreadings (vide SGV. pp. XXX-XXXII), and from his remarks at the beginning of the Sanskrit translation of MKh., where he says :—

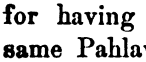
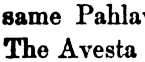
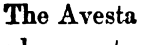
"इयं पहिलवी मइनीऊषईनाम्नी परलोकीया बुद्धिर्मया निरीऊसंघेन धवलसुतेन पहिलवी भाषायाः संस्कृतभाषायामवतारिता । विषमपारसीकाक्षरेभ्यश्च अविस्ताक्षरैर्लिखिता सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिक्षाश्रोतॄणां सत्यचेतसां." ॥

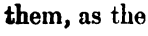
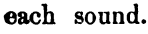
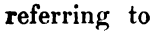
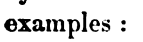
"This Pahlavî heavenly wisdom, called Mainyô-khard, is translated by me, Nairyôsangh son of Dhaval, from the

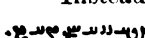
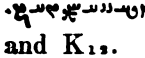
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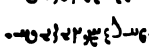
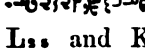
Pahlavî language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the DIFFICULT PARSI LETTERS with the Avestâ letters, for the proper understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded."

31 The Pahlavi copyists might be said to have a plea for having committed such errors inasmuch as one and the same Pahlavi letter can be pronounced or read in several ways. The Avesta copyists, too, have caused much confusion by misplacement of words, though no such plea can be urged for them, as the Avesta alphabet has a separate letter to represent each sound. Numerous examples of this can be found, by referring to the collation notes given in the Avesta texts by Professors Westergaard and Geldner. I cite a few typical examples :

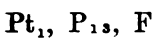
Instead of  in F_1 ;  in L_{12}, L_{18} ;  in L_9, L_{11}, and K_{18}. (Gld. p. 36).

For  in L_{11} ;  in F_1 and E_1 ;  in L_{18} ;  in F_2 and K_{36} ; and  in L_{19}, L_{38} and $K_{18}a$ (Gld. p. 36).

For  , J_9 and H_2 have  ; Pt_1, P_{18}, F_1, E_1, L_{11} and K_{19} have  (Gld. p. 39).

For  or  * we find  in Lb_1, $K_{18}b$ and Pt_1 ; in K_{19} ;  in O_3;

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* is translated by all as meaning "mighty vigour." Geldner prefers , but we find in Pahlavi and Pâzand , "to examine minutely," "to scrutinize" (Vide S.G.V., pp. 70, 141, 147). In Persian we find زون 'zûn' or 'zavan'="share," "part," "division," Cf. Pers. زوا لہ "any globular form," "light globular forms produced by effervescence," which I take to be derived from . If the derivation be correct it would be proper to take  as meaning "in the form of minute particles or atoms."

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in L_{18}; in L_{16}; in F_{12}, E_1, Mb_1 and L_{11}; ..... in JM_4; in P_{18}; in L_{28}; in J_{10} and K_{18}; and in J_9 (Gld. p. 48).

The word * (Yt. X, 128) is in H_4; in J_{10} and (!) in K_{18}.

The word † (Yt. XIV, 54, 55, 56) is in L_{18}, P_{18}, O_2, M_4 and K_{30}; or in JM_4; or in J_{10}.

32. Since Pahlavi has ceased to be spoken, it is difficult to settle its reading and pronunciation, specially the pronunciation of the Semitic words used in it. It is a well-known fact that a great number of words used in the current language of a country derived from an old source, have come down in a corrupt form. Moreover, the words which a language borrows from foreign languages, lose their indigenous pronunciation and receive the tone and the glib of the language into which they are introduced. Thus a century or two bring about great changes in the pronunciation and spelling of a language. As examples, we may cite old and modern German, old and modern French, English as it is spoken now and as it was spoken a century or two ago. The Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary helps us to a great extent in settling the meaning of all and the reading of most of the Semitic words. The glossary

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* All translators take it to mean "cow-gut"; but the words (TD Bd., p. 96) (K$_{20}$ p. 30, l. 7), and Pers. گوزن "a kind of mountain-ox", "a deer," are derived from .

† Cf. Eng. 'Vampire'. The formation and attribute of both are the same. Vampire is a blood-sucking demon; is also a demon, who causes blood to flow, .

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is more than eight hundred years old, but the pronunciations written in Pâzand seem to have been added recently. Moreover different copyists, giving the pronunciations according to their ideas and understanding, and following the Persian system, have made great changes. Most of the Dastûrs used to follow these pronunciations. Now-a-days European Savants pronounce the words of Semitic origin, according to their pronunciations in the original language, although some of them are pahlavicized. I fear this system will bring about great confusion in future.

33. The following are the principle changes :—

(*a.*) 𐭯 — the pronunciation of this letter is only 't.' The writer of the Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary, according to the Persian fashion, has read it 𐭣 'd' when it follows a soft letter ; the Dastûrs also did the same. Some European scholars read it *d* and some *t*. It is true that in certain words when a hard letter follows a soft one, the hard letter becomes soft, but cf. कर्तव्य which has र् + त, and is read 'kartavya' and not 'kar*d*avya'. As Pahlavi 𐭯 has its soft substitute 𐭣 'd', there is no reason why 𐭩𐭯 'tan', the sign of the infinitive, should be read 'dan'. Had the Pahlavi writers intended to pronounce 𐭯 as 'd' they would have used the letter 𐭣, which has that value. 𐭣 is found instead of 𐭯 in the infinitives 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩 'afgandan', 𐭪𐭲𐭩 'kandan' 𐭭𐭪𐭲𐭩 'nikandan', 𐭧𐭥𐭲 'khândan', and 𐭬𐭥𐭲 'mândan' only. In the Dari dialect which was cotemporaneous with Pahlavi, we have the infinitives 𐭪𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭩 'kartavûn', 𐭧𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭩 'khartavûn', 𐭬𐭥𐭫𐭥𐭲𐭥𐭩 'martavûn', &c., where the hard 𐭯 following the soft 𐭫 is preserved upto the present day. I, therefore, propose to pronounce 𐭯 as 't', wherever it is met with in Pahlavi also.

34. (*b.*) A great number of substantives introduced into Pahlavi from the Semitic languages end in 𐭬 'man', some end in 𐭭

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'â'; *e.g.*, words ending in 𐭠 :- 𐭥𐭠, 𐭫𐭠, 𐭤𐭫𐭠, 𐭩𐭠, &c.; their traditional reading is 'binman', 'yadman', 'jadman' or 'gadman', 'rûêshman', and 'rômân'; European scholars now-a-days transcribe them as 'ber*â*', 'yad*â*' or 'gad*â*', 'rûîsh*â*' and 'lan*â*'; words ending in 𐭭 :- 𐭭𐭲, 𐭭𐭥𐭥, 𐭭𐭥𐭠, 𐭭𐭩𐭠, 𐭭𐭱𐭱, 𐭭𐭱𐭱𐭤𐭫, &c. These words clearly have 𐭭 'â' at the end, therefore it is but right to read it 'â', but why should 𐭠 in the other words be pronounced '*â*'? European scholars argue that these words have 𐭭 instead of 𐭠 in the original languages from which they are taken and that the Sâssânian Pahlavi inscriptions have a peculiar character, which can be read 'â' as well as 'man', and is found in the place of 𐭠 and 𐭭 in the words given above. They consider '*â*' to have been erroneously read 'man' by the writers of classical Pahlavi. Granting this reason to be correct, it is but just and safe to read 𐭠 as 'man', and 𐭭 as 'â', wherever they occur in manuscript Pahlavi, in order to preserve the original writing. Otherwise 𐭩𐭠𐭠 will be mistaken for 𐭱𐭠𐭠 if they both be read 'mât'. Hasty readers and transcribers will only think of the articulation and miss the distinction between 'â' (𐭠) and '*â*' (𐭭). Moreover 𐭥𐭠𐭩 'bar*â*' would be confounded with 𐭥𐭠 'bar*â*'; 𐭠𐭩𐭠 'm*â*m' and 𐭭𐭩𐭠 'm*â*sh' with 𐭱𐭠 'mâm' and 𐭭𐭱𐭠 'mâsh', &c.

35. (*c.*) The letter 𐭭 is only read 'n', 'v', 'û' or 'ô' by the traditional school; European Savants now give it two additional values '*r*' and '*l*'. They prefer to read 𐭭 as *r* or *l* in a word, if the original from which it is derived has any one of these sounds. *E. g.*, the words 𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭱, 𐭱𐭫𐭱𐭠, 𐭱𐭫𐭱𐭱, 𐭱𐭫𐭱𐭤, and 𐭱𐭫𐭱𐭱𐭥 are derived from 𐭤𐭫𐭥, 𐭱𐭫𐭤𐭠, 𐭱𐭫𐭤𐭫𐭱, 𐭱𐭫𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭤 and 𐭱𐭫𐭤𐭫𐭱𐭩𐭥. Therefore they are read 'kar*d*an', 'âfr*î*n', 'âtr*ŏ*', 'mitr*ŏ*', and 'shatr*ŏ*'; Similarly 𐭥𐭠𐭩, 𐭥𐭠, 𐭱𐭫𐭱𐭭 and 𐭥𐭫𐭱𐭱 are Semitic words, they are read 'bar*â*', 'bar*m*an' latterly 'ber*â*', 'par*s*hyâ,' and 'tor*â*.' But we find

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either 𐭩 or 𐭠 written in some words in the Pahl.-Pâz. Glos. *e. g.*, 𐭪𐭲𐭬 'ganmak,' 𐭪𐭠𐭫𐭪 'garmak'; 𐭪𐭲𐭬, 𐭪𐭲𐭠; 𐭲𐭬, 𐭠𐭲; 𐭲𐭫, 𐭲𐭠; 𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭩, 𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠; 𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭪, 𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭪; 𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭩𐭠, 𐭲𐭠𐭫𐭠𐭠; 𐭩𐭫𐭪, 𐭠𐭫𐭪; and 𐭩𐭫𐭲𐭬, 𐭩𐭫𐭲𐭠.

From these examples I imagine that from very ancient times the Pahlavi speaking people interchanged the letters 𐭩 and 𐭠 both in speaking as well as in writing. It is quite possible that this change was due to provincialism.

Such examples are also to be found in Avestâ as well as other languages; *e. g.*, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬌, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬌; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬍; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍𐬌, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬍𐬌; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍𐬌, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬍𐬌; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬍; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍𐬌, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬍𐬌; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍𐬌, 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬍𐬌 (Yt. 21,13).

Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁, Sans. नुनम्; 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀 (सेना), Anglo-Saxon 'here' (as in harbinger = 'here-beorgan'); Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎, Sans. अन्य, Lat. alius.

Sans. कुकणः, कुकरः; लकुचः, नकुचः; नक्तकः, लक्तकः; पहलवः, पह्नवः; लज् (लज्ज्), नज् (cf. नग्न); विज्जलः, विज्जनः.

Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬁, Pahl. 𐭩𐭲𐭪 or 𐭠𐭲𐭪; Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀, Pahl. 𐭪𐭲𐭫; Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍𐬌, Khorasmian مذیان; Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬍, Pâz. 𐭩𐭲𐭠𐭫 in Bd. K$_{20}$, Khorasmian ورند; Pahl. 𐭫𐭲𐭪, Pers. دوان, name of a town in Pars.; 𐭫𐭲 is transcribed 'Armeilos' in Heb.; Pahl. 𐭩𐭲𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭪 a corrupt form of 𐭩𐭲𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭪𐭫 or 𐭩𐭲𐭫𐭲𐭩𐭲𐭪𐭩, Pers. بخت نصر, Nebuchadrizâr or Nebuchadnezzar; Pahl. 𐭪𐭫𐭩, Pers. افزول (cf. افزولیدن); Pahl. 𐭪𐭲𐭫, Pers. دبیر; Pahl. 𐭫𐭲𐭪 or 𐭪𐭲𐭪 (cf. Pahl. Vd. VII, 35 edited by Dârâb.)

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Pers. کلیسا, کلیسه, کنیسا or کنیسه; سمندول or سمندون; بشکنه or بشکرد (from شکستن).

Eng. 'banister' or 'baluster'; 'lunch' or 'luncheon,' corrupt form of old Eng. 'noonshun'; 'Rumania' or 'Rumelia.'

From these examples I wish to show that 𐭭 and 𐭮 (n, r, and l) are philological variants and it is but proper to read the words in which they occur just as they are written, keeping a distinction between 𐭭 and 𐭮; otherwise mistakes of the type mentioned above will be committed by readers and transcribers that will add considerably to the difficulties of deciphering Pahlavi. In three published books I find 𐭥𐭮 already misplaced for 𐭥𐭭, and 𐭤𐭮𐭱𐭭 for 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭭, 𐭤𐭮𐭩 for 𐭤𐭭𐭩, 𐭥𐭮 for 𐭥𐭭, and many such mistakes will be committed by future editors following this system. It is quite possible that the coming generation of Pahlavi scholars will consider 𐭥𐭮, 𐭤𐭮𐭱𐭭, 𐭤𐭮𐭩, 𐭥𐭮 as words different from 𐭥𐭭, 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭭, 𐭤𐭭𐭩, 𐭥𐭭 respectively, and will try to assign distinct values to them.

36. (*d*) The words 𐭠𐭲𐭭, 𐭠𐭬𐭲 and 𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭮 which have 𐭭 at the end and 𐭤𐭭𐭲, 𐭤𐭭𐭲 which have 𐭭 in the middle are traditionally read 'âtûn', 'matûn', 'shatûn', 'khûndat', 'amûndat', respectively. The two 𐭭 are used there in the place of 𐭮, 𐭤𐭮, 𐭤𐭩, and 𐭮𐭤 of the Avesta. For 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭲 or 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭲 we have 𐭠𐭲𐭭; 𐭤𐭭𐭲 for 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭩; 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭲 or 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭩𐭮𐭲 becomes 𐭤𐭭𐭲; 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤, 𐭠𐭬𐭲; 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤 becomes 𐭠𐭮𐭲𐭮; 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭩𐭮𐭤 becomes 𐭤𐭭𐭲 (Pers. اندرون); 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭮𐭤* becomes 𐭤𐭭𐭲 and 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭮𐭤 or 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭩𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤 becomes 𐭤𐭭𐭩.— All scholars read the 𐭭 in 𐭤𐭥𐭱𐭭, 𐭤𐭭𐭲 and 𐭤𐭭𐭩† as 'ûn.' I think it would not be wrong

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* Vide 𐭥𐭮𐭤𐭭𐭲 and 𐭥𐭮𐭤𐭭𐭩 Vd. IX, 11.

† Vide 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭲, Vd. II, 40, and 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤 𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭤𐭮𐭮𐭤 = Pahl. 𐭤𐭭𐭲 ... 𐭤𐭭𐭩, Y. LIII (Sp. LII), 7.

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to read the ॥ as 'ûn', in the first five words also. In the names of Khorasmian months we find آدو standing for آدر (=ꣻꣻꣻ). This leads us to infer that the ॥ were not taken to represent 'r' + 'ŏ' and that آدو is possibly a short form of آدون. Moreover for the Av. ꣻꣻꣻ, we find ꣻꣻꣻ in Pahl. Vd. VIII, 81, 82, 96, and for ꣻꣻꣻ we find ꣻꣻꣻ in Pahl. Y. IX, 1 (3 Sp). This proves beyond doubt that ꣻꣻꣻ and ꣻꣻꣻ, ꣻꣻꣻ and ꣻꣻꣻ are distinct forms. Cf. also ꣻꣻꣻ, ꣻꣻꣻ, ꣻꣻꣻ, ꣻꣻꣻ, and ꣻꣻꣻ, where the ॥ are read ûn.

37. (*e*) There are some words beginning with ـس or ـس, such as ـس, ـس, ـس, and ـس; Europeans read ـس as 'ayya'; some read ـس as 'asbâr' following the traditional reading, but I prefer to derive ـس 'ayîb' from Av. ꣻꣻꣻ, ꣻꣻꣻ; ـس = Av. ꣻꣻꣻ. The Persian هشوار, هشیوار and هشیار are found for ـس 'hush-ayîbâr' (= Av. ꣻꣻꣻ); obviously the یوار or وار in the first two is derived from ـس (ꣻꣻꣻ + ꣻꣻꣻ); cf. also یاور and یار. In the same manner ـس and ـس can be derived from the Av. ꣻꣻꣻ (cf. Sans. आह). Also ـس of ـس ـس and ـس ـس * — Dk. III, CLXXVIII, can be derived from Av. ꣻꣻꣻ + ꣻꣻꣻ. A similar word occurs in MKh. Pûrs. I, 186; VI, 24, where its Pâzand and Sanskrit renderings are ꣻꣻꣻ, प्राविशः, and समायातः.

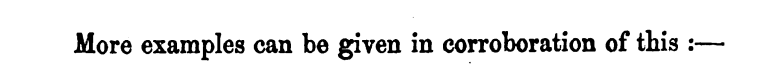
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* We find ـس as the synonym of ـس ـس in the following sentence:— ꣻꣻꣻ

ـس is used in the same sense in Vd. V, 62 (175 Sp.).

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More examples can be given in corroboration of this :—

 — from Av. or ; , — from Av. or ; — from Av. ; — from Av. ; — from Av. .

38. (f) In Pahlavi an optional is often found following the letters , , , , and either in the body or at the end of words. Even the oldest MSS. do not observe any uniformity as regards this redundant , but insert or omit it indiscriminately. This seems to show that though inserted long ago was not pronounced. Likewise, the final 'k' in Pahlavi was quiescent like the final imperceptible 'h' in Persian. Some did and even now do pronounce both these and as 'e' and some as 'a'. European Savants pronounce this as 'k', whereas in transliteration they give the redundant the sound 'ŏ'. Formerly this redundant was explained as being a remnant of the Avesta case terminations. Thus was supposed to have been the transcription of Av. , genitive singular of , and of Av. , nominative singular of . But this theory could not explain the presence of at the end of Semitic words used in Pahlavi, and its absence in all those words which end in letters such as , , , &c., which can be joined to the letters following them.

Again European Savants prefer to read the sign of the infinitive as 'tanŏ' or 'danŏ,' though this 'ŏ' cannot be compared with any vowel in the Avesta language. Some perhaps would prefer to read it as 'tavûn' or 'davûn' observing the pronunciations of the infinitives in the Darî language. But it is safer to read it according to the long standing custom as 'tan' and 'dan' following Persian.

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Even in the Iranian Cuneiform the sign of the infinitive is 'tana.'

Another theory in support of reading the redundant ـه as 'ŏ' is that the names of Iranian angels—impressed in Greek characters on the coins of the Indo-scythic rulers of the Turûshka dynasty, in the first two centuries of the Christian Era—are found ending with 'ŏ'. *E.g.*, Ardoxšo (Av.), Ašaeixšo (A .), Mioro (Av. , cf. Sans. मिहिर), Mao (Av.), Teiro (= Tîr) Farro (Av. , Pers. فر, فرہ), Oado (Av.), Oanindo (Av.), Saorioro (Av.).*

But this fact can be explained. This ending in 'ŏ' must be a dialectic peculiarity of the Indo-scythian race. Examples are not wanting of Grecised Persian names, *e.g.*, Tiridatis, Oromazis, Pharnabazos, Tiribazos, &c.

Now it may be asked, what sound must be ascribed to this ـه? or why should it not be pronounced? The reply is that we have similar examples of mute letters in other living languages. For example, in English we find words like 'know,' 'fruit,' 'condemn,' 'column,' 'calm,' 'Psalm,' 'Ptolemy,' &c., where a letter or lettters are quiescent; in French the consonants at the end of words are generally mute; the Persian language which owes its origin to Pahlavi has ه 'h' mute in many words.

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* See Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie : II. Band. III. Lieferung, Pahlavi Literature, by Dr. E. W. West, p. 75.

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